

Londons Resurrection

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OR THE

REBUILDING

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L O N D O N

Encouraged, Directed, and Improved,
In Fifty Discourses.

Together with a Preface,
giving some account both of
the Authour and Work.

By Samuel Rolls, *Minister of the Gospel,*
and sometime Fellow of Trinity
Colledg in Cambridg.

L O N D O N.

Printed, by W. R. for Thomas Parkhurst, at
the Sign of the Golden Bible on London-
Bridge, under the Gate, 1668.

LONDON REGISTER
18. 7. 1842

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By Samuel Rolle, Minister of the Gospel
and former Fellow of Trinity
College in Cambridge.

To the Right Worshipful

Sr *John Langham*, Knight and Baronet,
And Sir *James Langham*,
his Son, KNIGHT.

To the Right Worshipful

Sir *Thomas Player*, Chamberlain of
the City of *L O N D O N*;
And Sir *Thomas Player* his Son,
KNIGHTS.

And to the Right Worshipful.

Sir *Francis Rolle* & Sir *Stephen White*,
KNIGHTS.

To the Worshipful

Francis Warner, *Nathaniel Barnardiston*,
Thomas Bewly, *Henry Spurstow*,
Robert Welden, and *Henry Ashurst*,
ESQUIRES.

S. R.

Humbly dedicateth all the insuing Discourses,
in testimony of his unfained respects (as mean
and unworthy as they are) wishing to all, and
every of you (his much honoured friends) all
needful blessings, both for the Life that is,
and that which is to come.

THE PREFACE.

Christian Reader,

IF thou hast an affection for *London*, or any particular concern in the rebuilding of it, (as very many have) the title of this book (and I will assure thee the drift and purport of it, is such as the Title pretendeth to) may invite thee to spend a few hours in the perusal of it, and to cover a multitude of infirmities in the Author, and this his work, with respect to the goodness, and usefulness of his design. I know no secular design now on foot, in this part of the world, that is, or seemeth to be, of greater importance, and that to thousands of families, than is the rebuilding of *London*: and yet no one English pen (so far as I know) hath been employed, in the directing, and encouraging of it, till the unworthy Author of this poor Treatise, like *Elihu* who had waited for the words of others, and did not answer to *Job*, till his betters seemed resolved to be silent, made bold to break the Ice, and did redeem what time he could, from a thousand cares, and perplexities, to signify his great compassion, and high respects to that once famous, but now ruinous City, in which he drew his first breath. I dare not to speak in any such language as *Deborah* did, *Judg. 5. 7. They ceased in Israel, till I Deborah arose, &c.* I shall not presume to compare with her, though but a woman, but rather confess my self to be as *a worm and no man*.

What the Apostle saith of himself, *1 Cor. 2. 3. I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling*, and the expressions he useth concerning

The Preface to the Reader.

himself, *Acts 20. 19. Serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears, and temptations which beset me*: I say those expressions have been much what applicable to my case (as they that have known my circumstances do understand,) I have been at the most, but a *bruised reed, and smoking flax*, (let the world judge of me as it pleaseth) yet have I broke through all distractions, and discouragements (which have even laid me level with the City, or that part of it which lieth in ashes) to do what service, I could for the place of my nativity, to blot out the name of *Icabod*, and to retrieve, and recall that glory of *England* which for the present is departed.

Yet let me not affright my reader, by what I have said, with the expectation of a *melancholy* peice, upon so joyfull a subject, as is the restauration of *London*, for in treating thereof, I have rather comforted with the nature, and quality of the subject, which is pleasant, and chearily, than with the complexion of my own mind, and those sad, and dolorous resentments of things, (both my own and others) which I have too much conversed with. One had wont to say that *he did love to drink his wine with his friends, but to eat his vinegar by himself* (meaning to impart his joyes, rather than his sorrows) and as to that I am much of his mind. I will rather hang my harp upon the willowes, than play those dolefull tunes to others, which I do sometimes listen to my self.

What if now and then, I say within my self that the age we live in, is an unkind and an ill-natured age? that *all men* now adaies do *seek their own things, and not the things of others*, that interest carrieth all before it, and whatsoever is worthy, and far more worthy than it self, signifieth nothing in compa-

The Preface to the Reader.

comparison of it, so that they who are too honest to comply, with this or that interest, farther than they understand it to comport with religion, and reason, shall have leave to starve, whilst they who boggle at nothing, that is in pursuance of that *interest* they have fallen in with, but follow it (as if interest were the lamb spoken of, *Rev. 14. 4.*) whithersoever it goeth, though that their dishonest self-love (for so it is) be all they have to commend them, shall ride upon the high places of the earth, and have more than heart can wish.

I may sometimes think of it with regret, that persons in no authority at all, do usually take upon them to prescribe, and give law to others, in those things, in and as to which they should only be a law to themselves, I mean left to their own judgments, and consciences: and so it is that they who command the purse, do seem to think that the consciences of men should be in subjection to them, themselves assuming, or challenging that power of imposing, and *that dominion over the faith* of other men, (though really their equals) which they condemn in others, who are legally their superiours.

It goeth near to me sometimes to think how full of snares, and temptations, the present time is, both on the right hand, and on the left, as if all the Devils in Hell were not tempters enough, nor the wiles and methods of Satan sufficient to try us, or as if to grapple *not only with flesh and blood, but also with principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, and with the rulers of the darkness of this world,* were not as much as one of us could well turn our hands to, unless men turned Devils too (tempters I mean) and went about like roaring Lions seeking whom they could devour. I freely confess I have had many black and gloomy thoughts

The Preface to the Reader.

upon the consideration of those things, such as if others had been conscious to, they might have expected I should have done like the *madman* spoken of *Prov. 26. 18. viz. have cast about firebrands, arrows and death*, but instead thereof, I have been pleasant with my reader, (at several turnes,) yea oftner so, than fowr and melancholy; though there be something of both kinds, wherewith to entertain those that are of different humours. I have frequently *pip'd to those* that have a mind to *dance* (alluding to *Mat. 11. 17.*) and elsewhere *mourned unto them that are more disposed to lament*: as having been under various tempers my self, whilst I was about this work, and found that saying of a reverend Divine most true, that *one man in a little time is many men.*

In some parts and places of this book, thou mayest *lye down* (as it were) in *green pastures*, and be *lead beside the still waters* (alluding to *Pf. 23.*) I mean tollerably recreate thy self, if thou hast a mind so to do: and in others again, as in dark groves, and obscure grottoes, thou mayest satiate thy self with melancholy, if that humour please thee better (as some have seemed to me, to be in love with it) But I think thou wilt find the daies longer than the nights, and less of darkness than of light, or lightfomness, throughout this whole treatise, which I had no mind to make like the Fish called *Sepia*, or *Cuttle-fish*, which casts ink, and blackness, upon all the waters where it swims (at least-wise so often as it self is in any trouble, or danger of being taken) but rather more like that more excellent creature, *viz. the Sun*, which disperseth clouds and darkness, wheresoever he cometh (*Sic liceat magnis componere parva*) that is, if it be lawful for us to make so unequal a comparison.)

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The Preface to the Reader.

There are two things which I should most of all desire to meet with in the preface to any book, *viz.* Some account of the Authour, either from himself, or from some other, and some account of the work. I would know whose book I read, I mean the *Genius*, and temper of the Authour, that I might the better understand what I read; *ex. gr.* If I know the *Canticles* to have been indited by the holy Ghost, and penned by *Solomon*, I am sure no one expression in that whole book, ought to have any wanton or lascivious construction put upon it: nor could be so intended (the Authour considered) though but for that, there are several passages in that book, liable enough unto being taken in an amorous sense. It is an ordinary saying *Cum duo faciunt idem non est idem*, when two men, (*viz.* of different spirits do one thing, it is not one, and the same thing which they do. The same may be applied to writing, and speaking. Those passages may be well taken from persons of known, moderation, which coming from others, might be liable to a worse construction, and the sayings of moderate men should always be taken in a modest, and moderate sense, (if the words will but bear it) and whereas it is said *that every thing hath two handles, viz.* a better and a worse, what is presented to us by persons universally owned, as candid, and moderate, should always be taken by the better handle of the two, for the sayings and writings of men, are generally such as they themselves are.

Now the Authour of this Treatise, knowing that a verbal testimony, given by any man to himself, doth signifie nothing, as Christ saith, *If I bear record of myself, my record is not true*) maketh his humble appeal to all that know him, whether the tenour of his conversation, and practice (for professions and sub-

The Preface to the Reader.

Subscriptions amount to little) hath not alwaies proclaimed him a moderate man, of a *reconciling spirit*, and of a *healing temper*. Those countries that lie near the equinoctial line, are continually scorched with heat, (whether the Sun be moving north or south) whereas those parts which are more remote from the Ecliptick line, (or path of the Sun) go by the name of temperate *zones*: So have I seen sober persons, who by virtue of their moderation, have been nearer to others (whether they were such as had *Northern*, or *Southern* latitude) for moderation is a kind of (*medium participationis*) a participation of two extreams, but of neither of them in extremity (like a composition of elements which remain in mixtion but refractly) I say I have seen such under greater sufferings than other men, who have been violent, one way or other, and to fare like one that goes about to part a couple that are fighting, and by that means brings them both about his own ears, and whilst he would make them friends with one another, makes them both enemies to himself. I was about to say, I my self have been a kind of *Martyr* in the behalf of *Moderation*, and am not ashamed to own it. It is fit that some body should do the world good, even against its will, and particularly by promoting that which violence would certainly extinguish, I mean *love* and *reconciliation*, without which the world can no more be happy, than there can be day in the world without a Sun.

If I have any moderation to spare, as some think I have) I wish I could impart it to them that have little or none. *God was not in the wind, which rent the mountains, nor in the earth quake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice, 1 Kings 19. 12.* All the four Evangelists do record that the holy Ghost descended

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The Preface to the Reader.

like a dove, *Mat. 3. 16*, &c. *The wrath of man accomplisheth not the righteousness of God.* I profess myself to be neither for *Paul*, nor for *Apollos*, nor *Cephas* in opposition to one another, but for Christ in conjunction with all of them, and to be most for those Disciples whether of *Paul*, of *Apollos*, or of *Cephas* which I judg to be really best in their practice, though more remote than others from my particular judgment.

So far as men are of my mind, they bear my image, but so far as they are good they bear Gods image : now I would love Gods image in men, more than my own. It may be a mans defect to be like me, but I am sure it is his excellency to be like God. I cannot bring myself to think that all persons of one, or two perswasions are only godly, and that all the rest of people who are not of those perswasions, are carnal, and wicked : I think that some perswasions have fewer people of good lives, adhering to them, than do adhere to some others, but yet there are some worse people amongst those that are generally best, and some better people than many of them, amongst those that are generally worse than they, and that I ought to love the good people, of a party more generally bad, better than the bad people of a party that is more generally good. Time was that *Judas* might have been seen amongst the disciples of Christ, and Christ himself amongst the publicans.

Grace and Learning (or solid wisdom) and good nature, all, yea every one of these, do more attract my heart to him that hath them, and is not of my judgment, than to be of my judgment, doth, or can attract it, to him that hath them not. If I were a Presbyterian indowed with power (as some of that name have sometimes been) I would more love and encourage

The Preface to the Reader.

encourage an Episcopal man, that were of good life and of good Learning, and of a peaceable spirit than one that professed himself a zealous Presbyterian, whose life, and learning, and temper, were not so good, to be sure than one that were of an ill nature, or an errand dunce, or which is worst of all a bad liver. Let them that call Malice and Revenge by the name of zeal, call this that I have described for moderation, by the name of Lukewarmness, (if they so please) I shall never take it for such whilst I remember what is said *Gal. 5. 22. But the fruit of the Spirit is Love, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, &c.* May all that shall read this Treatise, be in that sense lukewarm; or rather take that advice which is given *Phil. 4. 5. Let your moderation be known to all men.*

If the Reader would be assured of the Authors Loyalty and good affection, I could refer him to several Chapters in this Book, which are demonstrations of it, particularly Chap. 23. *Of obliging Magistrates, &c.* and to pag. 219. &c. where the Authors abhorrence of a popular Reformation, or of the peoples taking upon them to reform any thing but themselves and their Families, without the leave and concurrence of Authority, is fully manifested, How much the Author is a friend to publick order, and Ordinances, may be seen most evidently in Chap. 47. where he treateth of the *Rebuilding of Churches.* That the design of the Author is not to increase the fears and jealousies of people, but to encourage their hopes, and fill them (what he can) with the expectations of good, may plainly appear by the two first Chapters, as also by the deep sense which he hath elsewhere expressed, of the great inconveniencies of fears and jealousies, so much abounding as they do, and the many expedients which

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The Preface to the Reader.

he hath humbly proposed for the extinguishing of them.

How unwilling the Author was to give offence to one or other (especially to persons in Authority) may easily be discerned by the soft expressions he hath generally made use of, having seldom spoken sharply, or harshly of any thing, but of *sharpness*, and *harshness* it self (and of other vices as bad as that): Now Chymists tell us that *acid*, or sharp things disarm, and infeeble each other; and Scripture tells us of God himself, that *with the froward he will shew himself froward*, Psal. 18. 26.

Two other methods have bin used, that no offence might be taken, more than alwaies will be, if any sin be reproved, which yet must, and ought to be reproved. One is, the Author hath been careful as not to rail (like *Rabshakeb*) so *not to talk* (as he did) *in the Jews Language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall, but to speak to Superiors in the Syrian Language*; that is, in a Language that ordinary people understand not, when, and so often, as any miscarriage of theirs hath been insinuated. Another Compass he hath sailed by, to avoid the Rock of offence, hath been the culling and chusing out the safest and most inoffensive instances he knew, whereby to illustrate the odiousness of any evil practice. Who is not at liberty without offending any body at this day, to speak his pleasure, of that little Engine of State, that was sometimes called the *Engagement*? by the imposing whereof, several Learned men were cast, or kept out of preferment. Now where we treat of the undoing of Scholars, we have particularized no stratagem ever calculated for that purpose, but only that obsolete *Engagement*, nor have presumed to speak of any (*par ratio*) or equality of reason, that may be against any thing else.

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The Preface to the Reader.

Moreover thou wilt find, that my manner is rather to show what ought to be done, than to upbraid men for not doing as they ought (and a milder way than that cannot be thought of). In shewing what ought to be done, some may think me too positive, and absolute, now and then, but I intend no more by it but this, *viz.* to signify how fully perswaded I am of such things in my own breast, how confident I my self am of the truth and goodness of them; yet not so confident of any thing (which he that runs may not read in Scripture) as I am confident of this, that I my self am not infallible, and therefore presume not to impose upon the belief of others, (and as they call it, to *dogmatize*) but submit all that I have written, to the censure and correction of better Judgments.

Yet as unwilling as the Author was to give any body offence (if it could possibly have been avoided) the Book it self will tell thee that he hath dealt plainly and impartially with all sorts of men, neither sparing the vices of friends, nor disowning the virtues of enemies, neither flattering the former, nor flandering the latter; neither extenuating the faults of the one, nor aggravating the faults of the other, but giving every man his due, both praise and dispraise. Now some cannot abide to hear of any good that is in their enemies, nor of any evil that is in themselves and their friends: whereas the truth is, we have all our faults, and should be told of them in a becoming way; yea, our selves should say with *David*, *Psal. 141. 5. Let the Righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness, and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent Oil which shall not break my head.* That is, (by the plainest *Meiosis* that I know in Scripture, for so it is, to say that a precious Oil will not break our heads) it shall heal my most grievous and dangerous

The Preface to the Reader.

gerous wounds (for such are wounds in the head). I shall alwaies suspect that book, and that man, that chideth, or commendeth but one side, whereas no side is so good as to have nothing worthy to be condemned; nor any party so bad, as not to have something worthy to be commended.

(Good Reader) thou wilt find me to have written (as it were) with a pair of scales in my hand, weighing out to every one his proper portion. Now he that useth scales, will scarce weigh heaven, unless he first bring them to play, this way, and the other way, as they use to do, before they come to an equipoize, and stand quite still. Of this you have one instance besides all the rest in pag. 32. where all sorts of persons who contemn each others different mode in Religion, whose Religion for substance is the same with their own, are indifferently and impartially censured for so doing. Besides all that hath been said, thou wilt find the Author big with design to promote good nature, good humor, good temper, peace, forgiveness, reconciliation, yea, Christian love, and brotherly kindness. I say to promote it universally, as knowing that *no Passover can be kept without unleavened bread, and the entertainment of a Lamb*, which is one of the mildest creatures in the World.

Peace on earth, and good will towards men (upon which will follow *glory to God in the highest*) is very much of the drift and design of this Book, and in it the Author goes about, saying in effect, as he thinks he hath read St. John had wont to do, *My little children love one another*, or as we are sure he saith, 1 Joh. 3. 18. *Let us not love in word nor in tongue*, that is, not in word and tongue only (which yet is more than many do) *but in deed and in truth*. He often warns men (and how needful is it he should do so ?) of bi-
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The Preface to the Reader.

sing and devouring one another, lest they be consumed one of another, Gal. 5. 15. and comes in like Mercury, with his *Caduceus* or white wand, with which they say that Heathen God had wont to lay the strifes of men, and make their contentions fall, whence they called his wand *Caduceus*. By this time thou knowest enough of the Author, or mayest know by that time thou hast read this book over (if it be such as he hath told thee) and for that matter he appealeth to thy self, and to as many more as shall vouchsafe to read it: I say to read it carefully, candidly, thorowly. For this I presume, that some things in this Book will displease at the first, that will not displease at the second reading, and part of a Chapter read singly and by it self, may give offence, when the whole (one thing being compared with another) will give no offence at all. And here those words of *Solomon* would be thought of, *Prov. 18. 13.* *He that answereth a matter before he heareth it (that is, heareth it out) it is folly and shame unto him.*

Now a more brief account of the book may serve the turn, because thou hast the book it self before thee, and mayest soon read it over. The true design of it is to promote the building and prosperity of *London*, which cannot be effected, but by such wayes and means as would tend as much to the welfare of all *England*, yea of all the three Kingdoms. Physicians say *Non curatur pars nisi curetur totum*, meaning if you would cure any unsound part, you must cleanse the whole body. If any such thing have befallen us in this work, viz. that we have happened to prescribe what is as good for all *England*, as for *London*, and would cure the whole (if duly applied) as it sometimes falls out that the whole body is cured, by what is applied but to one part, namely, when all the rest of the body is ill but only by

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The Preface to the Reader.

simpathy and consent) I say if this Book should contain any such *panacea's*, or universal remedies, as that it may serve, not only for the *Meridian of London*, but of all his Majesties Dominions (as if calculated for the whole) I see no reason why any body should be troubled at that.

In order to the rebuilding and reslourishing of *London*, I have considered first what are the hindrances both of one, and of the other, *viz. Discouragement* of several kinds, *Divisions*, *Discontents* about Religion, and otherwise the *Dearness* of *Commodities*, the *badness* of *materials* (as ill burnt Bricks, seared Timber, &c. the *dishonesty* of *Workmen*, the *poverty* of many that are concerned to build, if they had wherewithal, the *ill method* that is or hath been used in building, *viz. building altogether scatteringly*, and not every where *joyning the new building to the old*, nor finishing any one whole street, the *fears and jealousies* of people in reference to the former burning, in reference to Papists, and their designs, and in reference to the many lesser burnings which have been since the great Conflagration of *London*, particularly, the burning of a stately new house in *Mincing Lane*: all these, and it may be some other impediments of *Londons* rebuilding and reslourishing, I have considered as well as I could, and prescribed such remedies as I was able for every one of those grievous maladies, of most of which, not only *London*, but all *England* is sick. I have discoursed of the Builders, and assistants in building, who they must be, *viz. first the great God, who is the maker and builder of all things*; next to him, those that are called Gods, that is, Magistrates, by affording countenance to the work, and improving their Authority on the behalf of it: Next to them, good Ministers (for in all great works *Moses* and *Aaron* had need go

The Preface to the Reader.

hand in hand, as that Text saith, *God led his people like a Flock by the hand of Moses and of Aaron*: and elsewhere its said, *They builded and prospered through the Prophecying of Haggai, &c.*: Next to them, men of able purses, and good estates (though in no publick Offices or Employments, either Sacred or Civil): And lastly, Men of Art and skill as for matter of building, and whose proper work and occupation is in and about *Architecture &c.* Of, or to all of these I have said what I thought fit.

I have in the next place shewed how the help and assistance of all the forementioned may be gained, and procured, as namely, how the great God may be prevailed with to bless and prosper the Building (in which sense he is said to be the builder) *viz.* by our keeping his Sabbaths, relieving his Servants, reforming our wayes and doings that are not good, rebuilding places for his Worship (out of love to Publick Ordinances) seeking of his Kingdom, and the Righteousness thereof in the first place, propounding good and pious ends to our selves in that great undertaking, humbling our selves under his mighty hand, seeking his face and favour by Prayer and Fasting, walking humbly with God, and by thankfully acknowledging what God hath done for the City already. How we may engage the Gods that are upon earth (Magistrates I mean) to put their helping hand to this work, I have shewed Chap. 23. As for Ministers, if they be good, they will be forward enough to quicken and encourage such a work as is the building of the City, and their interest may go very far, and contribute very much. To rich men I have spoken Chap. 42. where I have pressed them to the exercise of mercy and Charity towards an undone City (for so it is at present) and all its undone Citizens: also in the Chapter of Re-
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The Preface to the Reader.

building Churches, I have again called upon the bowels and compassions of all rich people throughout *England*. As for all Tradesmen and Artificers, whose ware or work belongs to building, I have adjured them to be honest, and to do their best for and towards the rebuilding of *London*, and to use that Mother of theirs kindly in all respects, and upon all accounts (Chap. 8.). As for the old Inhabitants, I have wished them to replant themselves within the Walls, that *London* may flourish again, Chap. 36.

For and in order to the rebuilding of *London*, I have further propounded (in distinct Discourses) that good Magistrates may be chosen into those places of power which are conveyed by Election, that such Ministers may be encouraged as can do much by their interest in the esteem and affections of the people, that trading may be encouraged and advanced, that the burthens of *Londoners* may be eased for the present, that a general content and satisfaction may be given, (so far as is possible) whilst this work is in hand, that they would build the New City contiguous with the old, and continuous with it self; that is to say, that they would begin where the Fire made an end, and build some whole streets together; And lastly, that there may be a contribution of assistance to that work from all parts of *England*, (by men, or moneyes, or advice, or whatsoever else may promote and further it) yea from all parts of his Majesties Dominions.

As motives thereunto I have (in intire chapters) shewed the great consequence, and importance of the rebuilding of *London*, and that it be done with all convenient expedition, and how that not only *England*, but also *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and indeed all *Christendom* is concerned therein: (at least-

The Preface to the Reader.

wise the protestant part thereof) I have discoursed how pleasant the work of building is (Chap. 39.) also how much more profit may probably be made of building in *London*, at this juncture of time, than of laying out money most otherwaies, yea how much it would be for the honour of those, that have wherewithall, to have a considerable share, and proportion in the building of *London*. I have likewise set before my reader the sad face of *London* at this day, how pitifully it looks, and how the mournful visage of it doth bespeak relief from all that see, or hear of it (Chap. 15.) I have also in the same chapter taken notice of the many houses which are already built, or begun to be built, up and down, here and there; whereby a great obligation is laid upon *Londoners* to go forward with the City, least they incur the name of foolish builders, who begin to build, and cannot make an end.

Lastly I have shewed how the protestant Religion, and the principles thereof, do as much oblige to works of charity, such as is the building of Churches, and Schools, and Hospitals, as any principles in the popish religion can do, though that religion upbraideth ours with a dead faith, which worketh not by love, and doth arrogate all the charity to it self.

Thus (good Reader) have I given thee an account, first of the Authour, and nextly of his design, or of the book it self? and what thou art to expect in it.

Would I be so foolish as to boast of any thing contained in this work (which becometh me not to do) it should be of my having written so disinterestedly as I have done, so like a man addicted to no party, but studious of the good of the community, or of the whole Church and state, or as
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The Preface to the Reader.

one that were unbiaſſed, either by fear or favour, as a perſon of a free and uningaged mind, and that had never known ſuch a thing as *Interest*, as it ſtandeth in oppoſition to religion, reaſon, equity, conſcience, ingenuity, mercy, &c. In which ſenſe we take the word, when we ſay of this or that man, that he was acted or led by *Interest*, for we commonly add, and not by conſcience, or againſt conſcience? It was *Interest* made *David* to murder *Uriah*, hoping thereby to have concealed his adultery, and *Ahab* to take away the life of *Naboth* that he might get his vineyard, and the *Jews* to ſuborn the miſreporting of *Jeremiah*, *Jer. 20. 10. Report ſay they, and we will report it.*

Interest in the ſenſe I here diſclaim it, is nothing elſe but diſingenuous ſelf-love, diſhoneſt ſelf-ſeeking, an over-weaning, and unjuſt addictedneſs to a mans ſelf, and to the party which he hath eſpouſed, a gift that blinds the eyes of the wiſe, a love ſo blind, as that it will not ſuffer men to ſee either the evil that is in themſelves, and their friends, nor yet any thing that is good, and commendable in others, it is that principle which inclines men to Deifie, or make Gods (or rather Idols) of ſome men (whoſe perſons they have in admiration for advantage ſake) and Devils (or ſomething almoſt as bad) of others (though they be not ſuch.)

He that acts from *Interest* is one that cares not how much hurt he doth to others in their names, or eſtates, or other concerns, ſo he can but do himſelf any good (as he counts good) by means thereof, he is one that purſueth his ſelfiſh deſigns, right or wrong, *per fas & nefas*, and will trample upon every thing that ſtands in the way thereof, *Jonah* was tranſported by *Interest*, when it diſpleaſed him exceedingly, and he was very angry becauſe that God had

The Preface to the Reader.

repented of the evil, that he said he would do unto the *Ninivites*, and did it not. *Jonah* 3. 10. 4. 1. That is, he had rather all *Nineveh* had been destroyed in which were sixscore thousand persons that could not discern betwixt their right hand and their left; than that himself should have been hardly thought of, through the non-accomplishment of his prophecy: which infamy too, might have been prevented, by the *Ninivites*, considering that the threatening was not without this known reservation, viz. that in case they repented not, destruction should overtake them.

Interest is a strong bias which suffers no man to go right on, as no bowle can go straight to the mark, (but must wheele about) if it have a great bias. Now if I can wash my hands in innocency from any thing, I can do it in respect of that kind of Interest which I have now described, its mingling it self with this book. I have not written like a Lawyer that speaks all he can for his clients, and takes no notice of any thing that makes for the adverse cause, but rather as a just umpire, or moderator, that heareth or alledgeth, what can be said on both sides, and having so done, gives to each its due, and brings the business to a fair compromise, as may (though possibly it doth not) give full content and satisfaction to both parties. Yet when all this is said, and done, so captious and censorious, is the age we live in, that some will take offence at what I have written, and possibly they most of all to whom there is least appearance of any offence given: for some men (such is their peevishness) will be more angry, if you do but look over their hedge, than others if you had stolen their horse (as I may allude to our proverb) There are some that cannot bear any thing of a reproof, though as much too mild for them as

The Preface to the Reader.

was that of *Eli* to his wicked sons, though as prudently couched as was *Nathans* to *David* in the parable wherewith he surprised him, yea there are, whose property it is to take a reproof most haughtily from their friends, as if they would have none but enemies, and those they counted wicked to chide them, whereas *David* saith *let the righteous smite me*, or as if it were the part of an enemy, and not of a friend, to reprove, whereas the scripture saith, *Thou shalt not hate thy brother, thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him, Levit. 19. 17.* A rebuke from an enemy seldom doth good, because it is thought not to spring from love, if then our friends must not reprove us neither, we have excluded one ordinance of God, which was appointed for good, viz. *Admonition* and *Reprehension*. We cannot indure our sawces should be to sweet, but if a little tartness, or sharpness, be found in them, they please us better, why then would we have the writings of men to be luscious? why should a little sharpness in a book blunt our appetite thereunto instead of whetting it?

If thou hast no faults he wrongs thee that reproveth thee, but if thou sayest thou hast none, thy so saying, or thinking, is a fault, (*for he that saith he hath no sin is a liar*) and if thou hast faults, he that tels thee of them, in an humble modest way, doth thee a kindness, and if a man do thee a kindness, why shouldst thou be angry with him for it? Books should be read as well to inform us in what we are wrong, as to confirm us in what we are right, not so much to be our interpreters, to speak out that which we thought before, and had a mind to have said, rather by others than by our selves, but to instruct us what we ought to think, to rectifie our judgments, and practises, wherein soever they are

The Preface to the Reader.

amiss. If men give us our due (commendation I mean) why would we have more? it being a fault we mislike in watermen and coachmen, when they will not be content with their full fare, unless you give them something over and above. Now he that treats thee as if thou hadst no faults, gives thee more than thy due, for all have some.

He that would profit by this book must resolve before hand *to eat his hony comb with his hony* (*Cant. 5. 1.*) to pare his apple, and pull out the core (if there seem to be any) and feed upon the rest, he must know how to make a good meal, at a table where are many dishes, though every dish, or part of a dish, do not please his palate. If I read a book in which are several passages that I can make good use of, though in it there be divers other things, that do not suit my *Genius*, I ought not to censure the authour, or to repent of my reading it. Possibly those passages may be of most use to others, which were of none to me, and those expressions may give others greatest content, which gave me least. I am beholden to him from whom I receive any good, though not all the good I could have wished to receive.

Set but candor and charity at work, and thou mayest find an excuse for all such passages in this book as may not so well suit thee. If some expressions (to thy thinking) do favour of too much melancholy, say it may be the Authour hath had a great many things to expose him thereunto, and thou sayest right: If thou fancy the colour of other passages as much to light and pleasant, as the former were too sad, bethink thy self that melancholy persons are apt to be in extreams (and yet mean no hurt) and no wonder neither, *for all the mirth of melancholy persons is triumph, and that triumph because they*

The Preface to the Reader.

they have obtained victory over that black enemy (melancholy I mean) out of whose Clutches they are newly escaped for a time.

What an uncharitable man would call youthful and aery, be thou pleased to call the *hypocondriacal mind*, and if it seem to lighten in thy face, now and then, call those flashes the *eruptions* of a melancholy cloud, torn in sunder; and rather than be too angry, think the Authour to be scarce himself, (the reputation of being mad is an apron of fig-leaves that will cover any nakedness.)

One thing more I must advertize thee of, *viz.* that if thou deal fairly with the Authour of this poor treatise, thou must make him a fourfold allowance, one as a man (for that all men have their weaknesses) another, as a man weaker every way than many other men, a third as a man weaker at this time than himself (having had many troubles, and discouragements to make him so;) and lastly as a man that meaneth well, and had an honest design, in what he hath written (as the serious perusal of the book may assure thee.

I might have told thee that in many passages of this book, I seem to my self to have followed the motion of the *primum mobile* (or *movens*) of the first mover (as the spheres do) who hath openly proclaimed his desire of *uniting*, &c.

Nay I deceive my self if I have not in this book answered one of the most difficult, and insuperable questions (or which hath gone for such) that is put at this day, upon the answer whereof very much depends, and that is, *what will give men content? or what is the likeliest way to satisfie all men, or the major part?* I am hugely mistaken if I have not shewed how that may be done, without raising any one foundation, or fundamental law, and without laying an
axe

The Preface to the Reader.

axe to the root of any tree, that is appointed to rule over the other trees in the Forest (alluding to *Judg. 9.*) I say I have indeavoured to build up a structure of peace, love and unity upon the foundations that are already laid, without presuming to lay any new ones, or to do any thing more than humbly propose, and modestly offer at some few *preterfundamental condescensions*. If this be as truly performed, as it was intended, the book cannot be useless, though it did signifie nothing else. It was a happy cruse full of Salt, wherewith *Elisha* healed the naughty waters, casting it into the spring, *2 Kings 20.* if any thing in this book may prove like that Salt, to heal the waters of *Marah*, that is, of bitterness, which do even overflow us, and to sweeten the spirits of men, one towards another (as hath been indeavoured) I shall much rejoyce in the success. Fain would I contribute towards raising up the *Tabernacle* of love and good will, that is fallen, and unto closing up the breaches thereof, alluding to, *Amos 9. 11.*) If I fall short of what I aimed at, I have that old, and good excuse to plead, viz. *magnis tamen excidit ausis*, that is, that I have fallen from great and good designs, that I shot at an excellent mark, though it was my unhappiness to miss it.

Here thou wilt find several sins reprov'd, and cautioned against, namely, *Pride, Penuriousness, Censoriousness, Unmercifulness, Undutifulness towards superiors, Sinister ends, seeking other things before, and above the Kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, &c.* Thou wilt also find in this Treatise several graces commended, as namely *Humility, Charity, Heavenly mindedness, Publickness of spirit, Thankfulness, &c.* also several duties exhorted to, viz. *Sanctifying of the Sabbath, humbling our selves under the mighty hand of God in burning the City, reforming what*

The Preface to the Reader.

is manifestly amiss seeking unto God by prayer and fasting, &c.

Besides the theological discourses I have mentioned, there are several others that are purely moral, (for so the nature of the subject did require) now though in those discourses, which are but moral, (as in Chap. 46. and others) I have given scope to my phantasy, to be a little youthful (or for diversion sake it hath taken leave so to be) yet have I taken no such liberty, when the matter before me was divine, and spiritual, as being a professed enemy to any thing like a jest, in any thing like a Sermon, or mingled with any matter, which otherwise might become a pulpit.

If thou art altogether a stranger to the art of Divine Chimistry, or of extracting moral and spiritual considerations out of mechanical and ordinary things (like good Spirits out of lees and dregs) thou thou mayst learn something of it here, for though some heads of this book be very unpromising, and such as some would wonder what good could come out of them (as they said of old, *can any good come out of Nazareth?*) yet thou wilt find the application somewhat practical, and profitable, which may reconcile thee to it, as a good *Moral* might do to a fable, that at the first hearing did seem but slight. There are instances of this in Discourse 5, 6, 7. the Titles whereof promise little or nothing.

Wouldst thou have thy mind to be filled with good, and useful thoughts, as thou passest to and fro the ruins of *London* (as many do very often) and as thou takest a view of the new buildings, either begun, or finished, this Treatise may furnish thee with seasonable meditations, with some of which
if

The Preface to the Reader.

if thy heart be in too light a frame, thou mayst make it more serious, and with others, thou mayst make it more pleasant, if it be too sad.

These are all the uses, which this Treatise pretendeth it can serve for, and these thou wilt say are enough, if it perform accordingly, now whether it do so or no, is and must be left to the reader to judge; but if it do not, the Authour hath failed of his design, in whole, or in part.

Mispointing and misprinting have disturbed the sense now, and then, and made it unintelligible, but if thou pleasest to have recourse to the table of *Errata*, thou wilt there see what the Authour intended, (the smallness and swiftness of whose hand hath doubtless exposed the Printer to more mistakes, than otherwise he had been guilty of.) I have closed this book with a Discourse of the Resurrection of our bodies, (those houses of clay in which we dwell) (which is that Article of our Creed, which the resurrection of *London* doth most naturally, and easily put us in mind of, as the destruction of that City, did most genuinely lead us into the thoughts of our own death, and dissolution :) And thus thou hast an account of the drift, and purport of the whole work.

I am conscious to my self that this Treatise carrieth with it the stamp, and impression of many of the Authours weaknesses (though the proverb be *The eye seeth not its self*) but if no man shall throw a stone at the Authour, till one be found that hath no weaknesses of his own (or shall be thought to have none, when ever he appears in print) though not guilty of, or charged with so many as he) I say, if the Authour escape till then, he is like to sleep in a whole skin, for good and all.

I verily think that this poor despicable book,
will

The Preface to the Reader.

will. (in the main) approve its self to every mans
conscience, and though not to every mans private
humour, and dishonest interest, yet to the interest
of the publick, and good of the community, and
that there is not one expression in it, but may be
taken in a sense that shall give no offence, or by
which there shall be no *scandalum datum*, or offence
justly given, whatsoever may be unjustly taken.
Let those that never exposed themselves in print,
suspend their censure but till they do; and let those
that are in print already, read these lines but with
so much candor, as they would desire their own
should be read (especially if they have treated of
matters hard to be treated of, and failed, as the
Authour hath done, from first to last betwixt *Scylla*
and *Caribdis*, that is amongst rocks on every side of
him) I say let them who would themselves be con-
strued as well as ever their words will bear, but
do as much for me, and it is all the favour in that
kind, I shall intreat.

He that doth but glance upon a book, his eye may
light unhappily upon some passage, one, or more
which singly, and by its self considered, may pre-
judice him against the rest, and make him resolve
to read no more, whereas, if the same person had
read the whole book over, he would have liked it
well, and been no more offended at those very
passages, than skilful Apothecaries are at the vipers
which are in the receipt of *Venice Treacle*, which with
such and such corrective ingredients, wherewith
it is compounded makes it a more soveraign anti-
dote than it would otherwise be. (Reader) Thou
hast my pains, and earnest indeavours on the be-
half of *London*, that it may rise and flourish again,
let me have thy pardon for whatsoever is, or seem-
eth

The Preface to the Reader.

eth to thee to be amiss, in and throughout so well intended a work, and (which is more let me have thy prayers) that God would pardon all the defects and miscarriages of this work, as to matter or manner, and forgive the Authour those ten thousand talents, in which (upon other accounts) he stands indebted to the great God, (as who can know the number of his transgressions!) as also that whatsoever in this book, is of real tendency to personal, or national, civil or spiritual good may be duly considered, entertained without prejudice and (so far as is possible) brought into practise.

Now my hearts desire, and prayer to God is, that he would please to say concerning *London*, and *Londoners*, as concerning *Israel* and *Ephraim* of old, *Since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels are troubled for him, I will surely have mercy upon him, Jer. 31. 20. and v. 4. I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel, thou shalt surely be adorned, &c. and v. 10. He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock, and v. 11. And they shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, for wheat and for wine and for oile, and v. 12. Their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall not sorrow any more at all, and v. 24. Turn again O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy Cities, and v. 28. And it shall come to pass that as I have watched over them to pluck up and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict, so I will watch over them to build, and to plant; and v. 23. (for I may not recite all) As yet they shall use this speech in the land of Judah, and in the Cities thereof, when I shall bring again their captivity, the Lord bless thee O habitation of Justice, and mountain of Holiness.*

The Preface to the Reader.

I say that God would use the like expressions concerning *London*, and *Londoners*, as here concerning *Israel* and *Ephraim*, is the hearty desire, and earnest prayer of the unworthy Author,

*Who desireth to approve himself a friend
to all men, but especially to them who
are of the household of Faith.*

S. R.

A Table of all the Chapters or Titles of all
the Discourses, contained in this Book.

Discourse. I. **O**F the grounds we have to hope, and
expect the compleat rebuilding of the
now Ruins of London. pag. 1.

Disc. 2. Of such considerations as may encourage
heartless, and dispirited Citizens, to build again. p. 20.

Dis. 3. Of how great consequence it is that the now
wast, and desolate City of London, should be reedified.
p. 38.

Dis. 4. That it is convenient that the reedifying of
London should be with all possible speed, and expedition.
p. 44.

Dis. 5. Of building upon all the ruins of the City,
with brick (as is injoyned.) p. 48.

Dis. 6. Of ill-burnt bricks, and that great care
should be taken to build the new City with good materials.
p. 53.

Dis. 7. Of its being intended that the new buildings
should be more magnificent than were the old. p. 56.

Dis. 8. That all persons employed, and made use of,
in, and in order to the rebuilding of London, ought there-
in, (more especially) to use all care and good conscience.
p. 60.

Dis. 9. Of such as have made bold, or shall make bold
with other mens materials, or with any part thereof. p. 63.

Dis. 10. Of such as have not wherewithall to build
again. p. 65.

Dis. 11. That a strict observation of the Lords day,
might greatly promote the rebuilding of the City. p. 67.

Dis. 12. Of the help that may, and is meet to be af-
forded, towards the rebuilding of London. p. 74.

Dis. 13. That not only England, but all great Bri-
tain, and Ireland, and all the protestant parts of the
world,

The Contents.

world, is concerned in the restoration of London. p. 77.

Dis. 14. That the Protestant Religion, and the principles thereof, may contribute as much towards the rebuilding of Churches, and Hospitals, &c. as ever popery hath formerly done. p. 83.

Dis. 15. Upon the looks and prospect of London, whilst but only some few houses are built here, and there, and others but building, in the midst of many ruinous heaps. p. 91.

Dis. 16. That uniting, or at leastwise quieting the minds of men, as to matter of Religion (so far as it can be done) would much conduce to the rebuilding of the City. p. 98.

Dis. 17. That a studious advancing and promoting of trade, (by those that have power to do it) would greatly contribute to the rebuilding of London. p. 123.

Dis. 18. That the best way to dispatch the City, would be to build some whole Streets together. p. 125.

Dis. 19. That our building ought to begin where the fire ended. p. 128.

Dis. 20. That it might much conduce to the rebuilding of London, to have a thorough search made, how and by what means it was burnt. p. 131.

Dis. 21. That the countenance of Rulers, expressing much zeal and earnestness to have the City up again, and a sad sense of its present ruins, would put much life into the work. p. 137.

Dis. 22. That the choice of worthy men in places of power, both in City and country, would contribute much to the rebuilding of London. p. 141.

Dis. 23. That one good way to promote our City, would be to oblige our governors (all we can) to put to their helping hand. p. 146.

Dis. 24. That easing the burthens of Londoners (all that may be) till the City be finished, would encourage the work. p. 158.

Dis.

The Contents.

Dis. 25. That to give a general content, and satisfaction to men, (or so far as it can be done, would help forward the City very much. p. 159.

Dis. 26. That the continuance of peace begun with forreign nations, might much promote the rebuilding of the City. p. 165.

Dis. 27. That lessening the price of coals, would encourage building. p. 166.

Dis. 28. That the extirpation of fears, and jealousies (which do sadly abound) might contribute much to the building of the City. p. 168.

Dis. 29. That if that dread, and terror of the popish party, that is upon the people, were taken off, the building of the City would thereby be much encouraged. p. 174.

Dis. 30. That to be thankful to God and men for the good beginnings of a new City, is one way to perfect it. p. 186.

Dis. 31. That to seek much unto God by prayers, and fasting for success, would be one of the best wayes to promote the City p. 190.

Dis. 32. On Ezra 6. 14. And the Elders of the Jews builded and they prospered, through the prophesying of Haggai, the Prophet, and Zechariah. p. 199.

Dis. 33. That to be deeply affected with the hand of God in burning the City, is one good way to have it built again. p. 205.

Dis. 34. That greatly to bewail those sins, both of our own, and others, which helpt to burn the old City, would help to build the new one. p. 206.

Dis. 35. That to reform throughout England, whatsoever is manifestly amiss, and can be reformed, would admirably promote the City. p. 211.

Dis. 36. That it might expedite the building of London, if all its former inhabitants, were considerably encouraged, to replant themselves within the walls. p. 225.

Dis. 37. That to propound to our selves the best of ends in

The Contents.

in building, or attempting to build the City, may much promote the work. p. 230.

Dis. 38. That for all men to consider how much it will be for their honour, who shall have a great hand in rebuilding the City, might much promote the work. p. 236.

Dis. 39. That if the pleasure that is in building, were understood by all men, more persons of estates, would be engaged in the reedifying of London. p. 240.

Dis. 40. That men of estates would be invited to build in London, if the advantage which may probably (though not certainly) be made thereof, were duly considered. p. 244.

Dis. 41. That the burning of a new and stately house in Mincing-lane, should not deter Londoners from going on with their building, but admonish them to build whole Streets together, &c. p. 248.

Dis. 42. That the exercise of Mercy and Charity, would promote the building of the City. p. 256.

Dis. 43. That the promoting of Love and Amity, throughout the whole nation, would much conduce to the rebuilding of the City. p. 266.

Dis. 44. That the grace of humility, and the exercise thereof, might conduce much to the rebuilding of the City. p. 288.

Dis. 45. That to seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, in the first place (for Londoners generally so to do) were one of the best ways to obtain a new City. p. 311.

Dis. 46. Upon the observation of that full employment, which Carpenters Bricklayers, and all other Artificers, who relate to building, have at this day, compared with the condition of Scholars, under various revolutions. p. 319.

Dis. 47. Of the rebuilding of Churches. p. 337.

Dis. 48. Of Gods being the maker and builder of all things. p. 355.

Dis.

The Contents.

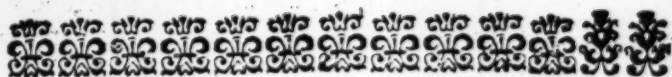
Dis. 49. *Of our being most unworthy to see another*
London. P. 360.

Dis. 50. *Upon the rebuilding of our houses of Clay,*
or the Resurrection of our bodies. P. 364.

Reader I intreat thee to correct these and such
other faults; as thou mayst find, that have
escaped the Press.

PAge 39. line 33. read *ingens*. p. 41. l. 16. put only a comma at the word *Comet*. p. 68. l. 34. blot out *That*. p. 78. l. 1. r. Empire. p. 87. l. 34. r. were not true. p. 89. l. 21. r. yea scorn. p. 93. l. 30. r. mourning weeds. p. 97. l. 17. r. when some, &c. and l. 32. r. father. p. 136. l. 22. r. *monet ut facias*. p. 145. l. 7. r. three kingdoms. p. 146. l. 5. r. and that. p. 161. l. 30. r. reasonable service. p. 140. l. 10. put only a comma before *methinks*. p. 184. l. 5. r. lispers out of Popery. and l. 13. r. heterodox Sermons. and l. 19. come forth. p. 170. l. 15. r. falsifying his promise. p. 202. l. 19. r. work. p. 203. l. 4. r. one Aaron. p. 212. l. 19. r. never any of all. p. 228. l. 8. r. the missing of such a reward. p. 232. l. 21. r. should we. p. 264. 22. r. your want. p. 280. l. 22. r. pose and puzzle. p. 333. l. 12. blot out the parenthesis before *ponds*. p. 328. l. 17. r. hairy skins. p. 347. l. 23. r. precariously. p. 352. l. 8. r. gourd to wither. p. 340. l. 31. r. Sinagogues of Satan. p. 352. l. 24. r. them. p. 340. l. 10. r. as we see. p. 359. l. 14. r. rebuked. p. 84. l. the last adde, and do it not, cannot, &c. Sometimes you will find yet put for yea, and the for that. p. 331. l. 29. r. *Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se*. p. 330. l. 29. dele *si*. p. 324. l. 16. blot out the parenthesis at *sense*.

The



DISCOURSE I.

Of the grounds we have to hope and expect the compleat rebuilding of the now Ruines of London.

I. **T**He day of the Resurrection of *London* hath as yet but dawned, at mcst, the Sun thereof is yet but one hour high, or thereabouts; the new City is yet but in its Infancy (if any thing more then an *Embryo*) the beginnings of the new are not yet so great as the small remainders of the old, as therefore it is too early at this time to congratulate it with acclamations of *Grace, Grace* thereunto, as if the top-stone were already laid; so on the other hand, it is not too late to signifie the hopes we have that in Gods good time it will be brought to a happy period, and that it will shine forth more and more, as the Sun doth till it come to the perfect day. Sure I am, if the grounds of our hope as to that matter be not vain and frivolous, it cannot be vain and fruitless, to divulge and publish them, considering how many there are whose hearts would even fail them, if they should utterly despair of *Londons* ever being upon its legs again: As *David* saith of himself, that *he had fainted, unless he had believed to see the goodness of God in the Land of the living, Psa. 27. 13.* This hope (if I mistake not) is and must be a *causa sine qua non* of all attempts for the rebuilding of the City; that is, such a cause, as without which no man will undertake to build upon his own account; for as the Apostle speaketh, *1 Cor. 9. 10. That he that ploweth, should plow in hope;* (as knowing that otherwise men would hardly plow at
B all)

all) so by the same reason, he that soweth must sow in hope too; nor can it be imagined, that any man will throw the seed of his care and cost into those deep Furrows which the fire hath made, unless he be competently perswaded that he or his shall in due time reap the benefit of it: I profess my self to be sincerely of that perswasion which I now endeavour to cherish in others, viz. that the ruinous heap, or that *Chaos* which we now call *London*, will thorough the good will of him that dwelt in the Bush (the burning Bush) be once again a goodly City. And that no man may think this hope of mine to be as a Spiders Web, that may soon be swept or blown away. I am ready to render the reasons of it; which are as follow. First, I think it not incon- siderable, that there is no Decree of Heaven promulged or made known to the contrary, which I the rather insist upon, because it hath been usual with God to give notice of his purpose and pleasure, that the places intended by him for a perpetual desolation should never be raised up again, as if it had been for that very end (and it is like it was) that men might not labour in vain, planting that which must immediately be pluckt up, and so building up that which must have been forthwith destroyed. Thus *Joshua* (doubtless by Divine Commission) as appeareth from *Joshua* 16. did adjure the people concerning *Jericho*, saying, *Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this City Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it, Joshua 6. 20.* which was fulfilled in *Hiel the Bethelie*, and his two sons, *1 Kings 16. 34.* That Curse made such impression, that for more then five hundred years after, no man adventured to attempt the rebuilding of that City devoted to destruction, un-
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til *Hiel* at length took the boldness to do it, and sacrificed his two sons (and as some think all his children) upon that dangerous service. A like terrible prophesie of perpetual destruction we find denounced against *Mount-Seir*, Ezek. 36. 9. *I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy Cities shall not return.* And the reason given, v. 5. *Because thou hast had perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel.* Moreover, against *Hazor* we find it thus written, Jer. 49. 33. *And Hazor shall be a dwelling for Dragons, and a desolation for ever; there shall no man abide there, nor any son of man dwell in it.* Adding one instance more, we shall have confirmed this truth out of the mouth of twice two Witnesses, and that Zeph. 2. 4. will furnish us with, *As I live, saith the Lord, surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, even the breeding of nettles and salt-pits, and a perpetual desolation, &c.* v. 10. *This shall they have, because they have reproached and magnified themselves against the people of the Lord.* Now if God had spoken against *London*, as against *Jericho*, *Hazor*, *Mount-Seir*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, there had been no hope, saving as the threatening might have been interpreted but conditional, (as when God said *Niniveh* should be destroyed within forty daies) but no such thing having been denounced against this City, where is the ground of despair? if there be no Divine Promise of and for the rebuilding of *London*, to be sure there is no express, or manifest threatening against it, and so long there is hope it may take place: When the great God was resolved that *Jeremy* should not prevail by his prayer for the *Israelites*, he bids him spare his pains, Jer. 11. 14. and Jer. 14. 11. Jer. 7. 16. *Pray not thou for this people; neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee.* And at

another time God by his Prophet said, *That though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in the Land, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, intending thereby that they should not prevail for others, Ezek. 14. 14.* Might not we in like manner have expected some intimation of the Divine Pleasure, that the rebuilding of *London* should not be so much as enterprized; that if we took any such work in hand, it should be at our peril, that we should but sow the Wind, and reap the Whirlwind, in case that were the Will of God indeed? Surely the Divine Goodness would forewarn us, that we might not undertake so great a work, and all in vain: But so far hath God been hitherto from crying aloud to us, not to take in hand the rebuilding of the City, that I scarce know any whisperings to that purpose: Nay, methinks that voice whereby God in these daies most of all speaketh to such cases as these (and that is the voice of Providence, and of the series of Divine Dispensations) I say that voice sounds in my ears, (and it is like in the ears of many more) as if it were plainly for it, as if it spake articulately, *Arise and build, up and be doing.* For first of all, since this work was to be done, the great God hath encouraged it by an unexpected measure of health vouchsafed; I say since the City was to be built, God hath taken away the noysome Pestilence, which staying some time after the fire, we had reason to expect the encrease thereof, considering how many Families were unhealthfully crouded together in a very small compass, and how many green (I mean lately before infected houses) were forthwith inhabited, which otherwise had long remained empty. The continuance of that destroying Angel amongst us had been so great a hindrance to the restauration of the City, as nothing could have been

been greater, and the removal thereof is doubtless as great a help, without which most men would have thought of flying or dying, but none of building. Surely that gracious hand which so miraculously and seasonably removed the Plague, was stretched forth in favour of the desolate City, as to matter of rebuilding.

And doth it signifie nothing, that God hath ordained Peace for us since the fire, a threefold Peace, *viz.* with *France, Holland, Denmark?* and may I not add a fourth, *viz.* with *Spain* also? (of no small import to trade and traffique, as Merchants tell us) Hath that Peace no benigne aspect upon the rebuilding of *London?* could we have built without it, as well as with it? The great dearth and dearthness of coals that was before the Peace, together with the great plenty and cheapness of them, which hath been, and is like to be after it, assureth us to the contrary, (Coals being as necessary for the making of Brick, of which our new building must consist, as Straw its self.)

Had the late war continued who would have had any heart to have built? who knoweth not how unhappy it is to build with a brick in one hand, and a bullet in the other? and would not the expence of War quite destroy the sinews of building? which are the same with the sinews of War, *viz.* Money) or had we money enough, where should we have materials sufficient for so great a work in a time of War? I doubt our *Lebanon* would not suffice: we should find the want of Forreign Timber which now we hope will plentifully come in, and that be brought in to build our houses, and to repair our City, which would otherwise have been employed to destroy our Ships, and to oppose our Fleet.

And now I mention Peace, I must not forget

the doubling of it (as of *Pharaoh's Dream* for more certainty sake) betwixt our selves, and the *Netherlands*, (besides those other Nations that may hereafter cast in their lot with us) neither is it only the same thing ingeminated, or two Peaces, but numerically distinct; but the latter Peace (if we mis-understand it not) is specifically different from, and much better then the former; the first having been only an engagement not to offend one another, but this to defend and protect each other, as the matter shall require. It is a great while since I remember any thing so generally well resented, so candidly interpreted, so thankfully acknowledged, as that League hath been, and chiefly for that it was made with a people of the same Religion with our selves, besides their being most potent at Sea of all our Neighbours. That Dove Peace, Peace, (for so I may call it) with two Olive Branches in its mouth, seemeth to me to bring the best tidings, as concerning the rebuilding of *London*, of any Messenger I have heard of; (though there are several others) and they that think otherwise, are I doubt under the power of too much melancholly, (not to say prejudice.)

Is there nothing to be gathered from the late Winter season wherewith to incourage our hope, as touching the rebuilding of *London*? If builders might have bespoken a season for their purpose, how could they have had a better? To be sure the Husbandman did not pray for such a Summer-like mild Winter Frost and Snow had been more suitable to his desires and occasions: But as if every thing ought to give place to the restauration of the City, as if plenty and health its self were not so needful, as that (at leastwise for the present) behold a Winter (if we may call it Winter) more accommodate

commodate to that occasion and service, then to any other purpose ; so warm, as if the Sun had stood still, (as in the daies of *Joshua*) and would not have stirred further from us till it had seen the City in some good forwardness. Thus the great God, who sent a fierce Wind to promote the burning of *London*, when it was his pleasure, hath sent a mild Winter that hath much promoted the building of it, giving us hope thereby it is his will and pleasure it should be built again.

I observe that God both in the bringing and removing of Judgments, hath wont to make much use of Wind and Weather : So God brought an East-wind upon the Land of Egypt, and that East-wind brought the Locusts, *Exod. 10. 13.* And in the ninth verse we read, *That the Lord turned a mighty strong West-wind which took away the Locusts, and turned them into the Red Sea, there remained not one Locust in Egypt.* So when God had a purpose to dry up the Deluge, it is said, *Gen. 8. 1. That God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged.* It is like one Wind brought the waters in, as another carried them out : So God caused the Sea to go back by a strong East-wind, and made it dry Land, that the Israelites might pass over, *Exod. 14. 21.* And probable it is, that the turning of the Wind brought the Sea back again upon the Egyptians. And I am much deceived, if the Wind and Weather, which were much against us in the time of the Fire, have not been as much with us, and for us, since that, I mean in reference to the warmth and openness of the Weather, which are much what the effects of Winds suitable thereunto, *Job 37. 9. Cold cometh out of the North : And v. 17. How thy garments are warm, when he quickeneth the earth by the South-wind.* Sith then this last Winter God hath made the Heavens to hear the

Ruines, and the Ruines to hear the Artificers, and the Artificers to hear the cryes of the poor dejected Citizens, longing to be restored, (you know to what I allude) why should we despair of another *London* at Land, more then heretofore at Sea, where we have known two already?

When I consider how speedily many difficult cases, and perplext controversies, relating to Builders and Proprietors, have been brought to an end, either by the clearness of the Law made for that purpose, or prudence of the Judges, or extraordinary peaceableness of the parties concerned, or by means of all three together, I cannot but look upon it as a good presage, that this poor City shall be built again: For this methinks is a kind of sudden and unexpected clearing and taking away of that Rubbish which did most of all threaten to obstruct the buildings; for who that hath observed how long some one controversie about the title of Houses or Lands, being tryed after the usual way, (and not as in the Act for building is provided) doth ordinarily depend (some a longer time then I hope the whole City will take up in rebuilding,) would not have thought that Law-suits and Impleadings one of another would have been so endless, that the City (the building whereof must needs wait upon the determination of such matters) would never have had a beginning. But blessed be God, it is evident to us by some hundreds of houses already built, and many more Foundations laid, that an incredible number of Titles are already determined, even so many as might have taken up a whole Age in an ordinary course of Law. And hence also may we feed our selves with hope, that the like dispatch will be made in and about those Causes which are yet unheard, (or more

if

If more can be) sith by variety of Precedents, and parallel cases, the work of determination will be easier every day then other. This good harmony gives me great hope, and may do the like to others, for why may not a City rise up by Unity and agreement, as well as fall by division? why may not the former be as powerful to lift up, even from the dust, as the latter is to throw it down? If God please to grant the people of *England* as good and easie an accord in all other matters, I shall yet hope all will be well.

I see a diligent hand at work for and towards the rebuilding of the City, and that increaseth my hope, that it will be done. When God forsook *London* for a time, and gave it up to the flames, we may remember that men forsook it also, I mean, a great part of its Inhabitants, made it their only care and business to secure their goods, but did in effect say, let the City go. But now I find that Citizens are as active and officious in restoring, as ever any of them (for all were not so) did seem remiss, and careless in preserving of it; methinks every body is huge intent upon it, and what his hand findeth to do in it, doth it with all his might, and that in despite of all both real and supposed discouragements. I know not the man whom in this case I can call a Sluggard, and wish him (without wronging him) to go to the Ant and learn his ways; all are as busie as so many Ants, hastning to and from their several Mole-hills; not a few were so intent upon it, that when materials could scarce be had for love or money, when Coals were three or four pound a Chaldron, when Bricks and Timber bore an excessive rate, all would not beat them off from building, as if they had been as fond of houses within the Walls of *London*, as ever *Rachel* was of

of children, who cryed out, *Give me children, or I die.*

You might see by the respects which Citizens paid, and do yet pay to the dust and ruines of *London*, how they hanker after it, not for what it is, but for what they hope it shall be. Do not as many as had wont to be concerned in those affairs, visit the Ruines yearly, call every Parish by its former name, observe its bounds, chuse Officers upon the very place, chuse Aldermen, and their Deputies, for every Ward that is unsupplied, nominate Church-wardens, Constables, &c. as if it might be said of *London* as was said of *Lazarus*, that he was not dead, but slept; and all thorough the desire they have it might be raised again, for they do know it is more then asleep, yea, no less then dead and buried. A careless, unactive, heartless posture was that in which *London* was destroyed, and now I see the quite contrary to that, it makes me hope it is about to be restored; wherewithall did the Psalmist perswade himself, *That the time to favour Sion, yea the set time was come, Psa. 102. 13.* The reason he gives us is, *For thy people take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof, v. 14.* If that were a good argument, that God would arise and have mercy upon *Sion*, (as doubtless it was, else the Psalmist would not have used it) we have said and evinced the same thing as concerning *London*, viz. such an affection towards it, as the people of God in those daies had towards their desolate *Jerusalem*. Far be it from me to think that so much love, care and pains, so many heads, and hands, and hearts, as are set at work about our City, with earnest prayers for the restauration of it, will all produce nothing.

What though God had a sufficient controversie against

gainst the old City, as for which to suffer it to be burnt, may it not be said that possibly he hath not the same against another City, though standing, or intended to stand in the same place; so that notwithstanding his permitting the former to be burnt, he may permit another to be built in the room of it? Though such things were done to the dry Tree, (to which I may compare the old City) must the like, or something as bad, be done to the green? Christ argues from the green Tree to the dry, with a *quanto magis*, *What then shall be done to the dry?* but not *vice versa*. God destroyed the Old World, but did he not nevertheless make a new one, and that in the same place where the old one stood, and peopled it out of the loyns of those few persons that did remain of the old? Who knows but that God may have pleaded all that controverſie which as yet he meaneth to plead with us in and by the burning of that one City? The destroying of Cities, (and the not suffering of them to be restored is no other then continued destruction,) (as they say of Conservation, that it is continued Creation) is not work that God doth do every day; it is his act indeed, but his *ſtrange act*, he is usually long about it, and as it were deliberating with himself, as when he said of old, *How shall I give thee up O Ephraim, &c.* True it is, that sin had overspread the City like a Leprosie, and like that disease gotten into the very walls of the several houses thereof: but when the walls of the most leprous house were once pulled down, or the house its self demolished, (as this poor City hath been) there was an end: nor do I any where find that it was forbidden or spoken of as dangerous to build another house in the same place, or upon the same ground, *Levit. 14. 45.* Let men charge what they can upon the late

late City (as some in spight do charge upon it what it never deserved) what is now in hand is not that City, nor shall it ever partake of its plagues and punishments, unless it be afresh polluted with its sins, or some others as great.

That God was pleased to spare a remnant of the City of *London*, that it might not be like to *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* in point of total destruction, for the present, is to me a further argument of hope, that it shall not be like those places in point of perpetual desolation for the future, that it shall not *suffer the vengeance of eternal fire* in such sense as that phrase is applyed to the places themselves, meaning they should alwayes lye in ashes. God having spared eight, and no more of mankind; when he brought the Deluge, and but seven of any other kind of Creature, reared up a new World out of that small remainder of the old, which he had reserved as a seed for that purpose, which it is like to *Noah* and his Family was also a pledge that God intended so to do. Methinks *London* ever since the Fire, hath been like a person frighted into a swoon, whose vital spirits are for the present concentrated and contracted into a narrower room; (as are the Inhabitants of that Relique of a City at this day) and if it be but so, why should we dispaire but it will come to its self again? or shall I compare it to one that hath a dead Palsie, who hath sense and motion in some parts of his body, though he have little or none in the rest. The remainder of the old City (as small as it is) doth not a little facilitate and incourage the building of that part that must be new, according to the old saying, *Facile est inventis addere*, it is easie to add: Give me, said *Archimedes*, but where to set my foot in the mean time, and I will turn the World round. *Londoners* by virtue

of that remainder of a City have where to set their foot, which is no small advantage: I cannot but reflect upon that passage, *Isa. 65. 8. Thus saith the Lord, as the new Wine is found in the Cluster, and one saith, destroy it not, for a blessing is in it; so will I do for my servants sake, that I may not destroy them all.* The meaning seemeth to be this, as when a Vine is grown so barren, that scarce any good Cluster of Grapes seemeth to be discerned on it, whereby it may be deemed to have life in it, and the Husbandman is above to cut it down, if one chance to espy some one cluster that hath Grapes with liquor in them, whereby it may appear there is life yet, he may thereby be induced to forbear the utter rooting out, or hewing down of it, being told there is a blessing in it, that is to say, some life and sap, giving hope of its recovery, and growing fruitful again. This is the case of *London* at this day; though the greatest part of it be withered and burnt up, yet there is some new Wine found in a Cluster, so that one may say there is a blessing in it, and may hope from thence, that God will not destroy it, but will say concerning it as of *Jacob*, *v. 9. I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob*; that is, those who shall be as seed, which though small, is apt to grow numerous and great: Neither is it less pertinent to this occasion to allude it to that Prophecie of *David*, concerning *Solomon* and his Kingdom, *Psa. 72. 16. There shall be a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the Mountains, the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon, and they of the City shall flourish like grass of the earth.* Say *London* be at the present but as a handful of Corn in the top of a barren Mountain, (whereas it is rather as so much Corn in a fruitful Valley) yet may it hereafter by the blessing of God come to shake like *Lebanon*, and flourish

flourish like the grass of the earth.

Is *London* the first City that ever was burnt and built again? I rather think, that most of the famous Cities in the world that were of ancient foundation, have passed thorough the fire first or last, (it may be more then once) and Phoenix-like have been raised out of their ashes. The Scripture tells us of the burning of *Jerusalem* by the King of *Babylon*, (besides the captivity of the people) and yet in that self-same place was there so goodly a City and Temple in our Saviours time, as did move his Disciples to admiration. He that shall but glance upon History, may furnish himself with instances enough of that nature: nor will I so far prejudge my Reader as to enumerate them, seeming thereby to think him ignorant of a thing so obvious. Who knows not that *London* its self hath been burnt several times formerly, (as in my Treatise of the burning of *London* I have shewed) and yet how Noble a City was it before it was burnt the last time, viz. in 1666. One while it lay in ashes above 80 years, and by that time one would have thought it should have been buried in perpetual silence and forgetfulness, and some other place have been unalterably possessed of the preheminance; but after that, in all likelihood it was a body not only dead, but rotten, the very bones and ashes whereof are scarce to be found, yet did it lift up its head again, and became greater then ever, as it lately was. Now what *Maxime* in Logick more evident then this, *A fuisse ad posse valet consequentia*: What hath been may be again. God hath raised *London* out of the dust several times, he is raising it, and let us trust in him, that he will in due time compleatly raise it again.

I have charity and respect enough for *Londoners*
(what-

whatever others want) to fetch an argument of hope even from themselves, the real piety and integrity of many of them (I say not of all, for where but in heaven are all Saints?) that for *their sakes God will return on high*, and say of *London*, that it shall be built again. He that would not have destroyed *Sodom* for the sake of but ten righteous persons, (if there had been so many there) will (I trust) not give up *London* to a perpetual destruction, out of the regard he bears to those many tens, and hundreds of righteous persons that are found there; if persons that live righteously, soberly, and godly, if they that do generally practise only such things as are *honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report*, (as it is *Phil. 4. 8.*) if they that seem to be afraid of whatsoever they know to be sin, and to make conscience of every known duty; I say, if men and women of such a character may and ought to be taken for persons truly religious, (as our Saviour tells us, that a tree is known by its fruits) if they that bring forth fruits meet of faith and repentance, ought to be esteemed to have both, and not censured for hypocrites; then are there I presume, several hundreds in and belonging to *London*, whom we are in duty bound (if the exercise of rational charity be a duty) to own for good Christians; and that they are such, I dare appeal to the consciences of their greatest enemies, or the most of them, who when upon a Death-bed, or in great distress, shall desire, and value their prayers to God for them, much more then the prayers of those that have been their most intimate associates. I had almost said, if there were less Religion in *London* then indeed there is, (though God knows there is not that which ought to be) some would love it more, and give a better report of it then
now

now they do; *They count it strange that you run not with them into the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you.* Could I speak with their enemies, and themselves not over-hear me, thereby to be tempted to something of pride, I would say, that if God have a people in the world that love and fear him, he hath some such in *London*, yea, I hope he hath *much* people in that place whose habitation himself is, in the sense intended, *Psa. 90. 1.* and as for other habitations shall in due time be provided for by him. I will not now determine in what sense it was spoken, but in *Exod. 1. 21.* it is thus written, *It came to pass because the Midwives feared God, that he made them houses.*

- For once I'll venture the scoffs and scorns of this the profanest of Ages, by making bold to say, that the many fervent prayers which have been, daily are, and will be offered to God on behalf of this desolate City, that it may be revived once again, is to me a further ground of hope that it shall be so. I have evinced already, that there are considerable numbers of good and gracious Christians, in and about the City, to ply the Throne of Grace, for the welfare of it; and the Scripture telleth us, that the *fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* I mu't first doubt whether there be a God, at leastwise whether God be a lover of righteousness, and righteous persons, (which the uncontrollable dictates of my conscience will not suffer me to do) before I can think that the prayers of good men signifie nothing, and are but as water spilt upon the ground. Prayer hath prevailed for greater things then is the building of a City, in the use of ordinary means: Did it not shut and open heaven in *Elijah's* daies? though himself, who offered those prayers, were a man of like passions with our selves.

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Can it do the greater, and not the lesser? Did I know the man that would say, let no man trouble himself to pray for the success of my building, I shall do as well without, as with all the prayers that can be made on that behalf, I should expect some Eminent Judgment to fall upon that man, as hath done upon some other eminent Builders, that have gone by the name of Atheists.

Tush, 'tis in vain to contradict experience, they that have received many signal answers of prayers, and on the other hand, have met with great rebukes at such times as they have *restrained prayer from the Almighty*, or prayed as if they prayed not, will never believe to the contrary, but that any good undertaking may, and will be much promoted by the ardent prayers of those that have interest in God; of which I doubt not but there is a great Stock going for *London* at this day; and it shall stand for one of the Pillars of my hope in this as in other cases, that *God hath never said to the seed of Jacob, Seek ye my face in vain.*

Next unto the prayers and tears of good men, the triumphs and insultings of bad over a famous City laid in ashes, gives me some of the greatest hope and confidence, that it shall not alwayes lye there. Was it not publickly observed, that Papists up and down the Land were never more jolly and jocund, then they shewed themselves soon after the burning of *London*? Some hellish Persecutors in the *Marian* daies did not more rejoyce in those flames which burnt the holy Martyrs, then some of them are said to have done in those which burnt the City. But will the great God alwayes seed and cherish such mirth as that? Shall not *their laughter be turned to mourning, and their joy to heaviness*? Hath not the Lord seen it, and it displeased him?

him? and will it not invite him to turn away his wrath from the City? *Prov. 24. 16.* God will not alwayes suffer *Philistines* to make sport with *Sampson*, but will cause the house at last to tumble about their ears and grind them to powder, who made him grind in derision. Another City (which therefore we now hope for) would spoil the insolent mirth of Popish enemies above any thing else, and put them quite out of countenance. God speaking after the manner of men, *Deut. 32. 27.* speaks as if himself did fear the insolency of enemies: *Were it not that I feared the enemy, would he have him self haughtily, &c.* And if so, doubtless he will take a time to suppress both it, and them.

And now methinks I my self am almost weary of this so long a Chapter; (though consisting only of encouragements and grounds of hope) and though I have stayed and rested my self upon thirteen several Pillars by the way, (and those Pillars of hope) I shall more easily be pardoned, because the Subject is lightsome; and we know that the length of daies useth not to be complained of, though that of nights be troublesome; howsoever *Solomon* telling us, that it is not good to eat too much honey, *Prov. 25. 27.* adviseth, that shortness may be wanting where sweetness is not, saving as want of shortness may somewhat imbitter that which of its self was sweet, even as honey (then which nothing is sweeter.)

Therefore lastly, methinks God hath given us earnest, great earnest of another City in place of that which was burnt; and what should I mean by that, but the many Foundations that are already laid, yea some hundreds of houses that are built in so short a time? (though those hundreds as yet be fewer then were the thousands of what was burnt)

But

But suppose we seven or eight hundred houses finished already, it being now *March 12. 1667.* and not much above one year and half since the Fire, in which time two Winters have passed over our heads, and but one Summer, War with three several Nations was unconcluded when the building began, Trading as dead as could be imagined, Citizens generally impoverished, materials and necessaries, such as Coals, &c. at a stupendious rate, admit, I say, there be yet but eight hundred houses finished, (though some think there be more) is it not a good and a great progress, all things considered? After one of the burnings of *London* I do not find that in 70 years (and upward) so much was done towards the restoring of it, as hath now been done in less then two.

Is it not remarkable, that since the rebuilding of *London* was this last time taken in hand, no one disaster hath befallen it, there hath appeared nothing like an Angel with a Sword in his hand to obstruct those that have attempted to bless the City, by rebuilding of it, as did to obstruct *Balaam* when he went forth to curse *Israel*. How early did the wrath of God break out against the builders of *Jericho*, the very foundation whereof was laid in the death and blood of *Hiel* the Founder, his first-born Son? But all the foundations that have been laid in *London*, yea and houses which are finished there, (for ought I learn) have not cost so dear. As *Mannob's* Wife said unto him, *Judg. 13. 23.* *If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would he have shewed us all these things.* So may we probably argue, (if I be not deceived) that if God had purposed to anticipate the full harvest of *London's* restoration, he would scarce have given us so timely

and so ample first fruits as he hath vouchsafed already : Reflecting upon all that I have said, I doubt not to bid defiance to such as have or shall presume to call *London* by the odious and misapplied name of *Babylon* ; for though it may be said of *London*, *It is fallen, it is fallen*, yet not so (as of *Babylon*) *that it shall never rise again*.

DISCOURSE II.

Of such considerations as may incourage heartless and dispirited Citizens to build again.

WHY see I so many people *with their hands upon their loyns (like a travelling Woman)* and so many faces turned into paleness ? (as the Prophet expresseth himself, *Jer. 20. 6.*) Why are the generality of men and women at this day (as is said of *Ephraim, Hos. 7. 11. like a silly Dove without heart* ? Why hear I little else but the voice of the Turtle, *viz. Mourning, and Lamentation* ; yea, like to that of *Rachel, who refused to be comforted* ? Would you have us (say they) build (so methinks I over-hear them speaking) pray what ? another *Babel* ? for alas our Languages are all confounded ; *England* is a Kingdome, and *London* a City, that are divided against themselves, and therefore how can they stand ? *England* is a Land as it were of all *Ishmaels*, every mans hand is lifted up against his Brother, and his Brothers against him : How like is *England* at this day to a great Army all in mutiny, or to a routed Army, all whose Ranks are broken, and themselves flying, some one way, some another, every man shifting for himself ; or like a great Fleet riding in a Storm, some of which are driven

driven upon the Sands, others split upon Rocks, and the major part fall foul one upon another: Would you have us as secure as the *Sodomites* were in the daies of *Lot*, who planted and builded, till such time as fire came down from heaven and destroyed them all, *Luk. 17. 29.* Would you have us build to be burnt again? are we not yet to expect the fatal influence and effects of a third prodigious Comet, as Astronomers do tell us? and if the Product or signification of that shall be such as was of the two former, woe be to us.

Wherewithall shall we build? *England* is become as poor as *Job*, a dunghill served his turn; as those words imply, *Job 2. 8. He sat down amongst the ashes:* and why may it not serve ours? Those Primitive Christians, of whom the world was not worthy, wandered in *Desarts and Mountains*, and in *Dens and Caves of the earth*, *Heb. 11. 38.* And are we better then they? The fire hath made a multitude of caves, let us go down into them, and dwell there; let us hide our selves in those clefts of rocks (as it were) till the indignation be overpast? Is it time for us to dwell in cieled houses, whilst the House of God lieth wast? (for so to our thinking it doth at this day) or shall we build houses, and soon after be made to dwell in prisons, either for debt, or it may be for Conscience sake? Is it for us to build, when God seemeth to be pulling down, and plucking up, and making an utter end? *England* hath not only grey hairs upon it here and there, but (as some Searchers judge them) Plague tokens, so that there is no hope (or next to none) of its recovery: And is this a time to build in, when we neither expect Religion nor Trade to our content, nor any long continuance of Peace either at home or abroad? Would you have us trim up our Cabins, whilst we

suspect the whole Ship will be lost? who hath not heard such language as this with his own ears?

But will it admit of no reply or confutation? doubtless it may. It was the dark side of the Pillar that was turned to us, on which side it was a meer Cloud, but the other side is bright, and as it were a Pillar of Fire. The same Instrument or Subject otherwise played upon, may afford us as pleasant Musick, as that we heard was doleful.

First, who art thou that limitest the holy One of Israel? *Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his Counsellor?* Rom. 11. 34. and Isa. 40. 14. Have you forgotten what God saith, Isa. 55. 8. *My thoughts are not your thoughts; neither are my ways your ways; for as the heavens are higher then the earth, so are my ways higher then your ways, and my thoughts then your thoughts.* That saying Jer. 29. 11. should be considered, *I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, (implying, they did not know the thoughts of God toward them; till he had thus revealed them) thoughts of peace, and not of evil.* It is incident to us to think of the Mountain of our adversity, as well as of the other of our prosperity, that it will never be removed: But we are often mistaken, so was Asaph when he did thus expostulate, Psa. 77. 7. *Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercy? will the Lord cast off for ever? will he be favourable no more? is his mercy clean gone for ever? and adds, v. 10. I said this is my infirmity, v. 14. Thou art the God that doest wonders: And v. 19. Thy way is in the Sea, and thy footsteps are not known: Hear the moans of Sion, and the answer given by God thereunto, Isa. 49. 14. But Sion, saith, the Lord, hath forsaken me, my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the Son of her womb? Yea, they may forget,*

forget, yet will not I forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands, thy walls are continually before me, ver. 15, 16. Little did the Israelites think, when their task of brick was doubled, that deliverance was at hand (which sense became a Proverb, *Cum duplicantur lateres venit Moses*: but so it was: but the Text saith, *The children of Israel hearkened not to Moses* (viz. prophesying of deliverance) for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage, *Exod. 6. 9.* Little did Abraham think, that Isaac should be spared, though he came so near unto being sacrificed, as that he was laid upon the Altar, whence sprung that consolatory saying, *Jehovah-jireh*, *Gen. 22. 14.* *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen.*

I shall not extenuate the badness of our present circumstances, it is too too evident, that we look like a Land meeted out for destruction; the face of things at this day is as it were *facies Hippocratica*, (as Physicians call it) that is, we look like death. Never was poor Nation more convulsed, and pulled this way and that way backwards and forwards, and other while made (or endeavoured to be made) more stiff and inflexible by a painful *Tetanus*, as they call that kind of Convulsion that braceth the body so straight, it can stir no way: It must be confessed, these are ill Symptoms, but no grounds of despair; possibly it is now a critical time with *England*, and the *Crises* of diseases are often attended with horrid Symptoms, even when Nature gets the upper hand at last. Are we now in any more danger to be destroyed by our divisions, then we were in 65. to be devoured by Plague? but thence hath God delivered us: He that hath said unto the Sword of War with other Nations, *Put up thyself into thy Scabbard, rest and be still*, can say the same to

the Sword of home divisions (which are a kind of intestine war.)

Surely *England* hath been in a worse condition then now it is, and yet saved from thence.

First, in the *Marian* daies, when the weapons of warfare against the true Religion were no other then Fire and Faggot, when the Scarlet Whore made her self drunk with the blood of Saints and Martyrs; were not *those daies shortened for the Elects sake*, *Matth. 13. 20.* Afterwards in 88. when the *Spanish Fleet*, called the *Invincible Armado*, came against *England*, in how desperate a case did it seem to be, but how soon did that black Cloud blow over? Then succeeded the hellish Powder Plot in the next Kings Reign, which had it taken effect, had rooted the Protestant Interest out of *England*, as in the twinkling of an eye, or whilst a small Paper could be burned, but that also came to nothing, that snare was broken, and this poor Land delivered. Who doubts whether Popish Archers have not shot at us many times since then, and yet *our Bow abideth in strength thorough the mighty God of Jacob.* O *England!* so often saved by the Lord, why shouldst thou despair of any more deliverances? Is it because thy sins are so many and great? call to mind what God saith, *Ezek. 36. 33. In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities, I will cause you to dwell in the Cities, and the wastes shall be builded; v. 35. And they shall say, This Land that was desolate, is become like the Garden of Eden, and the desolate and ruined Cities are become fenced and inhabited. Look back to v. 32. Not for your sakes do I this, saith the Lord God, be ashamed and confounded for your own wayes, O house of Israel. See also v. 22, 23, 29, 36, 38. of the same Chapter.*

Or is it because the Lord seemeth for a time to have

have forsaken thee, having given thee up to flames, that thou, O *London*, despairest of ever seeing good daies again? I see not why thou shouldst cast away the Anchor of thy hope for all that: what if thou shouldst cast it upon that Text, (and others of like import, *Psa.* 60. 9, 10. *Who will bring me into the strong City? wilt not thou O God which hadst cast us off?* And *Lam.* 3. 31. *For the Lord will not cast off for ever, but though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies.* Who seeth not the inference plain from such Texts as those, that God may cast off a people for a time, and yet not cast them off for ever?

Is it from a fear of being burnt again, that you have no heart to build? that fear in all likelihood ariseth from a mistrust you have, that the former burning came to pass by Treachery: if so, be of good chear, God will discover it in due time, it cannot be alwayes hid; and when that secret (if it be yet a secret) shall be brought to light, when the true Incendiaries shall once be known, *London* is like to be more secured from fire then ever it was, and that fire which consumed the old City, will be as a wall of fire (that is a defence) about the new.

If the great divisions, discontents, and heart-burnings that are now in *England*, be alledged (as they have been) as a main discouragement of the rebuilding of *London*, I would take leave to say, I hope one day to see an end of those things. Surely there will come a time when passion and fury will hold their peace, and give way to reason and conscience to interpose; and when ever that time shall come, such Rules and Principles as I would now suggest will be hearkened to, and cannot but offer themselves (being so obvious as they are,) and when-

whensoever they shall take place, we may expect to see *England* a quiet habitation, and all good people therein of one heart, though not of one mind.

The first principle which I would hope will be received in time is this, That every man pretending conscience constraining him to what he doth, or restraining him from what he refuseth to do, if generally trusted and thought worthy to be believed in other cases, ought to be trusted and believed in that also, and not to be changed with pride, prejudice, interest, faction, as the true reasons of those actions for which he pretendeth conscience, yea it may be exposeth himself to considerable sufferings, as for conscience sake, or under that notion. To put no trust at all in men of good and commendable lives, were to decry the validity of all Humane Testimony, and to raze the foundations of all Humane Society: Now if we cannot trust men in this case, why should we trust them in other things? and if we can trust them in other things, why not in this?

Secondly, That all such persons, who in the judgment, and by the principles of Christian charity, ought to be deemed and taken as acting from conscience, and from a fear of offending God in doing otherwise, should at no hand be treated with such severity and rigor, as they justly might, if we could be certain, or rationally presume, that what they did were from such base principles, or sinister ends, as pride, contumacy, interest, or the like: **Who** ever had the heart or the face to deal rigorously with any man pretending conscience for what he did, or refused to do, especially about indifferent things, unless he did think (or at leastwise make as if he thought) that conscience was but
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meerly pretended in the case? But if conscience be really interested and engaged, (as in the circumstances before put we should take it to be) the Apostles tenderness towards those that *had a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge*, will tell us how we ought to carry towards them, viz. not only with calmness, but kindness, *Rom. 10. 1.*

Thirdly, That persons agreeing, and consenting with us in the main points of Religion, in the sum and substance of Christianity, ought not to be punished for their unavoidable dissent from us in lesser matters at so great a rate, much less at a greater, then those that vary from us in Fundamentals, and go about to subvert the faith; if such be not temporally undone, and deprived of all wayes of subsisting for their perswasion, much less ought these so to be.

Fourthly, That they who believe, or profess to believe so much truth as to Salvation is necessary to be believed, and who in their general course practise accordingly, who are also peaceably disposed, and will give (or have given) the highest assurances that men can give, that so far as in them lieth, they will preserve the peace of Church and State; I say, that such men should be accounted worthy to live, and have wherewithall so to do, (they and their families) and if able for publick employment, should be intrusted therewithall, specially at such a time as the Church, or State, or both, have apparent need of their service, and for want thereof are forced to employ many worse, and less useful in their room.

Fifthly, That men should make no more divisions in Church or State then are of absolute necessity, and cannot be avoided, (and least of all, such as tend to the ruine of others, though to the raising of them-

themselves) considering what the Apostle saith, Rom. 16. 17, 18. *Mark them which cause divisions and offences, for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly.* Doubtless the way to the Church, and to the Communion thereof, should be made plain and accessible, as God appointed of old those wayes should be which led to the severall Sanctuaries, or Cities of refuge; to be sure no needless stumbling blocks, or unnecessary hindrances, should be laid in that way; neither ought any member (principal member especially) to be cut off from the Church without urgent, and enforcing cause, any more then an arm, or leg, or eye, to be severed from a natural body, if it and the body can possibly be preserved together.

Sixthly, that no man should be tempted to separation, or division, by suffering such things as may seem (if not more then seem) to plead for such a practise, as namely, by allowing and intrusting ignorant, insufficient, and scandalous Ministers: Divisions, or rather Dividers, will be quite out of countenance when they have no plausible thing to plead for themselves, but if they can say the Blind are set to guide them, and they to feed them who for bread gave them a stone, and for fish a Scorpion: who have neither the *Urim* in their doctrine, nor *Thummim* in their lives, so long will they divorce themselves and rest perswaded, that in so doing they do God and their own Souls good service. This notion is so obvious, as may make us hope it will not alwayes be overlookt, if not speedily taken into serious consideration.

Seventhly, That the paying tithe of *Mint, Annise and Cummin*, and mean time omitting the weightier matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy and Faith, (for which Christ denounceth a wo to the Pharisees, *Mat.*

23. 23. that is) a rigorous insisting upon lesser things whilst those of higher importance are slightly past over *which is no other then a straining at Gnats and swallowing of Camels;* is a practise that will make any Church obnoxious, not only to the all discovering eye of God, but to the observing eye of men, such especially as have little affection for them. If they can say we do place *the kingdom of God in meats and drink (in which it consisteth not)* rather then in righteousness (wherein it doth consist) they think they have enough against us to justify their separation, that we make nothing of their Souls, feed them with meer husks, and chaffe and have zeal for nothing, but unscriptural rites and traditions.

Eighthly, A little time cannot but discover that to prefer men according to the largeness, and hardness of their consciences, rather then the tenderness thereof; is no good rule to proceed upon. It was the commendation of *Josiah* that his heart was tender, and of *Nehemiah* that he did not do as others because of the fear of the Lord. The worst of men have the widest consciences, and such a faculty at swallowing that nothing can choake them: like some bewitched persons I have read of, they can swallow needles, and bodkins and knives, and when they see their time cast them up again in the faces of their owners.

Ninthly, It cannot be long hid from the eyes of men, who now do least see it, that to lay more load upon the consciences of men (even such as are thought best able, to bear it) then they needs must, to cause them *Issachar* like to couch down betwixt several burthens, to scrue up the strings of mens consciences till they are ready to crack again, to increase their task (as *Pharaoh* did by the Israelites as if they feared conscience would otherwise be idle)

idle) in a word to gorge the consciences of men till they are ready to spue up all again is no good policy. Consciencs that are overstretched (like cloth that is so) will be apt to shrink again, and Ostriches (which they say can digest Iron) have an ill report as creatures more then brutish both for folly and unnaturalness, *Job. 39. 14, 18*. I say it cannot long be hid, that that is no good policy; and therefore if any such thing hath been a cause of division, when a few succeeding dayes have been by those that preceded them, made wiser then their predecessors (as they say, *Dies diem docet*) it is like that occasion of strife and debate will be out of doors.

Tenthly, It is like the world, ere it be much elder, will be sufficiently instructed that it is no point of prudence to tempt men (even under hatches I mean) to immoderation and fierceness, by making it their true and only interest, under their present circumstances, to be fire, and tow, not to yield a hairs breadth. They that will have all, or nothing, all that ever they did require, or nothing that ever they will accept from those that are invincibly withheld by their consciences from doing all that is required, must expect just nothing at all. For what will men say, if we cannot do all that is imposed upon us, we had as good do just nothing. They on whom our dependance is under God (as too many there are that cannot be without dependances noun adjectives like) if we concede any thing, will say we are luke-warm, and spue us out of their mouths: and as for those that are in power for the execution of those laws, they will not abate us an ace of what they demand had we a hundred fold so much of gifts and graces, as either we or they or any man alive hath. What if the law hath left it in their breasts to dispense with the ri-

gor of it as they see cause (as by suspending their certificats, &c.) if it be their pleasure generally not to do it ? thence indigent men (and alas how many good men are such) will be apt to infer since no greater earnings can be made of moderation, than of eagerness on one hand, and much greater of eagerness, and inflexibleness, then of moderation on the other hand, since they cannot yeild to every thing, they will yield to nothing, and make an interest (for some interest they must make for themselves and theirs, or starve) I say make an interest where they can. Thus men become jealous that they must either ruin, or be ruined, and those wounds which by mutual condescension might have been healed, by utmost opposition on both sides do as it were fester, and become incurable. Thus the rough answer of *Rehoboam* hearkning to his young Counsellors set the people all into a flame, who had he taken the advice of his grave Senators, would have found their words true who said *1 King. 12. 7. If thou wilt be a servant to this people this day and wilt speak good words to them then they will be thy servants for ever.* As this most certain principle that lenity, and condescension will do more good then fierceness, and exasperation shall by experience be made more evident. I doubt not but our divisions and discontents will heal up by degrees, and the warm sun will make us throw off that particolored coat, which the boistrous wind made us to gird more close about us.

Eleventhly, Another principle tending to allay our discontents is as obvious as any of the rest (and therefore it is like will be taken notice of ere it be long) viz. That something in point of prudence, must and ought to be indulged, to the temper, and complexion of a nation, and to those opinions

opinions and sentiments which people have long been possessed with, so that they are become as it were a second nature to them: Principles long riveted in the minds of men, cannot easily be extirpated. These arbitrary rites and usages, which amongst some sorts of people might make Religion more venerable, with others again that have sucked in an invincible dislike of them, might make it very vile and contemptible.

Twelfthly, To secure a Nation all that may be against fears and jealousies, and to beget in them all possible confidence, that nothing is intended, but what is and shall be for their good; that I say will lay an Axe to the root of discontent, as much as any thing that can be done; and that it will do so, is so well known, that it is scarce to be imagined; that the wisdom of Governors will not prompt to it first or last.

Lastly, That they who are of one and the same Religion for substance, holding the same Foundation of Doctrinals, both as to Faith and manners, should not be suffered to vilifie and reproach each others different Mode and Dress in Religion, and to render one another ridiculous and contemptible, or to represent one another, as if the Religion of each were vaine, a meer mocking of God, *Hab. 3. As the cutting off a dogs neck, offering of Swines blood, or blessing of an Idol.* I say, men and women who hold the same Fundamentals in Religion, should not be suffered to scoff and deride one another, as *Elijah* did the Priests of *Baal*, (they being Idolaters, but he a Worshipper of the true God) for *hinc illa lachryma*. This is one as great cause of our heart-divisions, and heart-burnings, as any I know, that we pour out contempt and scorn upon the Religion of each other; (though in the main it be the same with

with our own) and that I must tell you is a most provoking thing, for he that toucheth a mans Religion, toucheth the apple of his eye, and causeth him to cry out as *Micah* did, *Jdg. 18. 24. Ye have taken away my Gods, and what have I more? and what is this that ye say to me, what aileth thee?* Religion is the great Bond of Love, and men are apt to think they are not bound to love one another, when they have learnt to deny and nullifie one anothers Religion. Religion is also the Bond of Charity, in point of judging; now when that Bond is once to appearance dissolved, by a conceit entertained, as if each others Religion were vain, then will there be no end of censuring and of exasperating one another thereby. How ordinary is it for men to say of a foot, because it is not the hand, or of an ear, because it is not the eye, that therefore it is not of the body; but is it therefore not of the body? as the Apostle speaketh, *1 Cor. 12. 15.* To deny an Episcopal man to be a Member of Christ his Mystical Body, because he is not a Presbyterian, and a Presbyterian to be such, because he is not an Independent, and an Independent to have any truth of Religion, because he is neither of the two former; when every one of the three is of a good and holy life, and sound in the main, is a point of high injustice and uncharitableness. He whom thou censurest, though his different mode and way in Religion may not be so good as thine, may have more acceptance with God then thy self, if more sincere and zealous, and true to those main principles in which you both agree, then thou thy self art: *Rom. 2. 27. Shall not uncircumcision by nature if it fulfill the Law, judge thee, who by the Letter and Circumcision dost transgress the Law?* But nothing more ordinary in this Age, then for men to vilifie others, who are

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much their betters, both as to gifts and graces, which is so irrational a thing, that one would think it should easily be apprehended and avoided.

We bring Religion its self (even that which is truly so called) into great dis-esteem, whilst we refuse to own it in any dress but one; for if all should do so, Religion (so and so modified) would no where have the applaule and suffrage of any more then one party of men, (if there be twenty) and fall under the censure and condemnation of all the rest. By that means the faith of such as are weak would be staggered, and they would be tempted to question the truth of that Religion which is represented to them as peculiar to themselves, though it be indeed common to all sound Christians, and sober Protestants, (that is) so much of it as the Church of God determineth to be *de fide*, that is, of absolute certainty, and necessary to salvation.

That men of another Opinion then our selves are of in matters controverted, are therefore of another Religion, and that utterly vain, is a principle that hath bred a great deal of strife and debate; but a principle so fond and senseless, so ignorant and arrogant, that one would think it should easily be parted with, and when ever men shall let it go, the fire of our dissentions would flake presently, and that if love to one another begin to kindle; why should men say in opposition to one another, *Lo here is Christ viz. in the Desert, or there viz. in the secret Chambers*: (as it is *Mat. 24. 26.*) whereas Christ may be here and there too, and hath said, that *wheresoever he recordeth his name, thither he will come.* Surely there are not fewer different Opinions as to Religion openly professed in the *Low-Countries*, then are in *England*; neither are there fewer different modes and wayes in, and of the exercise of Religion

Religion there, then here, yet there they are quiet, and here we are all in an uproar: And what is the reason, but because here we are alwayes biting and devouring one another, as if it were a part of our Religion, to oppose and vilifie the Religion of others, though but circumstantially differing from our own; whereas we ought to have charity, and Veneration for it, as agreeing with our own in the most material things; and as the Apostles rule is, *Phil. 3. 16. Whereto we have attained already, walk by the same rule, and mind the same things.*

Now the causes of our divisions being so manifest as they are, and the cure so easie (as appeareth by the obviousness and easie practicableness of those thirteen healing Principles which I have laid down) why should we despair that those causes will ever be removed, and our divisions and discontents at length healed? Surely there is Balm in our *Gilead*, *Jer. 8. 22.* there is some Physitian there; though the health of the Daughter of our people be not recovered, may give me leave to say, that I think our wounds are not so great (as great as they are) but that they might be cured with *Unguentum Apostolorum* (if I may so call it) I mean such as is prescribed *Rom. 14.* almost throughout that Chapter, especially if for better digestion sake, a little *Basilicon* were added thereunto.

All the Objections I have now left to answer against the building of *London*, are those which were taken from the present poverty of the Nation, and the fear of future troubles, both from abroad, and at home. I much fear what was said of *Cinna* is true of *London*, *Cinna videtur esse pauper & est pauper*, *London* doth not only seem to be much impoverished, but is really so: And how can it otherwise be, all things considered? But must Citizens

zens therefore quit their trades? How shall they ever be rich again but by means of trading? yea how can many of them so much as subsist without it? And if trade they must, where should they trade but in the City? and how should they trade there unless they build again?

Whereas the fear of future troubles hath been insinuated, as an argument against building, it cannot be denied but that our manifold sins, and present distractions, may cause us to expect them.

But first of all may not the infinite mercies of God, possibly prevent the confusions which we expect, and not suffer the things we fear to come upon us: or may not the Divine patience reprieve the Nation for some considerable time? (as the old world was reprieved after sentence denounced) and if so, will it not be every mans wisdom to make the best provision he can for him and his in the mean time? shall men certainly and forthwith undo themselves for fear of being hereafter undone? Shall not men seek to live whilst they may, for fear they may not afterwards be able to live, if they would ever so fain? *Solomon saith He that observeth the wind shall not sow*; that is, He shall never atchieve any thing, who will adventure nothing: (like one that would not sow, till he were sure of the wind and weather, to continue such as he would have them, and that he can never be.) Go which way you will to work, to improve your estates you shall run an adventure. He that layeth out his mony upon lands shall have little profit, great taxes, and it may be bad title: he that will turn Merchant must run the hazard of winds, and seas, and shelves, and sands, and Pirats, unfaitshul servants at home, unconscionable and uncontrollable Factors abroad. He that shall put his mony to interest (besides that
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some scruple the lawfulness of so doing) shall (if he fare no better then other men) be in danger of loosing both it and his principal : if he happen to loose neither, six *per cent.* is all the increase he can expect, whereas in the way of building upon the wast of *London* there are that hope to make almost double that improvement.

To them that shall say they are under hatches, and therefore they have no heart to build I would propose what is written *Jer. 29. 4, 5. Thus saith the Lord to all that are carried away captives, &c. Build ye houses and dwell in them, and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them.* Who can say it is worse with them now then it was with the Jews when this advice was given them? more I could say to incourage heartless builders but that these two first Chapters have swelled too much already, for which I can make no Apology but this, that these were strings most of all to be harped upon, and that the rest of my discourses, are like to prove like those that sprang up after the flood, *viz.* much shorter liv'd then those that went before them: upon the whole matter I shall take leave to apply to desponding *Londoners* those words of the Prophet, *Jer. 26. 19. Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, &c.* As also what was said of the dry bones mentioned *Ezek. 37. 5. Thus saith the Lord God unto those bones behold I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you and cover you with skin, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.*

DISCOURSE. III.

Of how great Consequence it is that the now wast and desolate City of London should be re-edified.

Surely it was not without cause that *London* (whilest standing) hath always continued the *Metropolis* of *England*, though no such promise were ever made to it, as unto *Judah* of old, that the scepter, or principality, should never depart from it, and though an old prophecy hath been, that *London* was and *York* should be, Yea though *London* hath several times ceased to be its self, for a while, lying in ashes, as now it doth (once fourscore years together) and other places have succeeded in the Metropolitanship for that time, yet no sooner was it raised again, but other places (as if but its Deputies, and Viceroyes) did presently resign the preheminance to it, and like to *Nebuchadnezzar* come from grass, and turn'd man again, it was presently re-inthroned, and restored to its former dignity and Primacy. This I say was not for nothing, but did certainly imply there was something in the place, the scituation I mean (for sometimes little else hath been left) that did render it much more fit, then any other to be the *Metropolis* or head City of *England* so that as often as *London* was in being, no other town or City would offer to come in competition with it. It was the river *Nilus* made *Egypt* rich, and fruitful, and hath it not been the River of *Thames* hath alwayes (under God) made *London* what it was. They that would utterly destroy *London* must dry up that River (as the river *Euphrates* for the destroying of *Babylon*) or set it at some greater distance from that City. For whilst they two stand
so

so near together, *London* is like to be rich, and fruitful, like trees that are planted by the rivers of water or like meadow ground that is overflown. What is said of *Joseph* is like to be verified of *London*, *Gen. 49. 22.* *Joseph is a fruitful bough by a wall whose branches run over the wall.* By the side of *London* is planted that great trunk of the *vena porta* of the Nation, I mean, the great mouth, and inlet of trade (the river of *Thames* I mean) which makes it so necessary for *England*, that *England* cannot much better subsist without it, (that is to say in wealth and prosperity) then a man can live whose mouth is sowed up, and who can take no nourishment but as a glyster, no breath but at his nostrils. They are deceived that think *England* may be destroyed meerly and only by destroying *London* for a time, for if *England* its self be not first destroyed, it must and will (God permitting) always have another *London* let the former be burnt, or demolished ever so often: *London* is the heart of *England*, and if it were not *primum vivens* it will be *ultimum moriens* at leastwise. *England* if it do not die first must die not long after it, for without a heart it cannot long live. If *London* fall it must rise again, or all *England* must fall too, at leastwise into great misery, disgrace, and poverty. *London* is the place to which those passages of the Prophet concerning *Tyre* are most applicable of any place I know, *Isa. 23. 4.* *Thou whom the Merchants that pass over sea, have replenished, the harvest of the river is her revenue, and she is a mart of Nations, &c. v. 8.* *The crowning City, whose merchants are Princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth.* At leastwise this she was *fuimus troes & nigens gloria*) and this with the blessing of God she is most capable to be again. And is it not of great consequence that a City of so vast a concernment to the whole nation should be rebuilt.

Which of all our famous Cities is fit to make a Head for so vast and Noble a Body as *England* is, *London* excepted? There is much deformity and inconvenience in a Head that is much too little for the body, as in one that is too big: Besides, if a head be not well scituated; as suppose a mans head were placed upon his arm, or back, and not upon his shoulders, such a posture would be not only inconvenient, but monstrous. And verily any other *Metropolis* for *England*, besides *London*, would be of like inconvenient posture and scituation; the head would not stand in the right place, either for commodiousness, or decency.

I would know what great Kingdome there is in the world, that hath not a *Metropolis* or Head City answerable to its self? And why should *England* differ from all the rest? should we be unlike all other Nations, and become their scorn?

Is not some one City magnificent and splendid above all the rest (like the Sun that out-shineth all the other stars) greatly for the honor both of a King and Kingdome? I had almost said *England* looks sneakingly whilst it is without a *London*, it doth as it were hide its head in the dust, and seemeth to be ashamed of its self, if it have any head to hide.

Tell us not of the Suburbs, Citizens know how inconvenient they are for their business, over what the City is; and besides, both together are little enough for traders, and other inhabitants, else it might have saved them charge and trouble to have dwelt in houses built to their hands, and well seasoned; they durst not go after the declining Sun, lest they themselves should decline also in their trade and business. They found more warmth in the heart of *London*, then ever they expect in the extreme parts, as they say of arterial blood that is warmest

warmest, for that it cometh immediately from the heart. Cottages within the walls seem to please and accommodate them better then stately houses without.

He that thinks the rebuilding of *London* might well be spared (if any man or woman can so think) let him or her, consider how many houses upon survey are said to have been consumed by the late fire, viz. no less then thirteen thousand, or thereabouts: now many of those houses did contain two, some three families apiece, so that we may well suppose twenty thousand families, most of them traders, to have been by that fire dispossessed, now where shall so many thousand families of trading people be disposed of if *London* be not built again? shall they go into the country and trade there? how inconvenient and insignificant would that be, besides that so to do were to eat the bread out of the mouths of country shop-keepers. Whilst they live at a distance from them Citizens are helpful to tradesmen in the country, as the sun when it is farthest removed from the moon, shines full upon it, and exhibits that which is called the full moon, but when they two are in conjunction, then doth the Moon disappear, being swallowed up by the greater light, and brightness of the Sun.

Say not that Citizens are already disposed of and settled well enough; for are not divers of them forced to live in the country to this day and to leave off their trades ever since the fire as not knowing where to accommodate themselves in or about the City. And as for others, who since that time have planted themselves either in the City or suburbs? how incommodiously are many, if not the most of them situated both as to their trades and families? how do they complain, of being pent up and
streightned

freightned for want of room, how unsweet and unpleasant are many of their dwellings, how private and obscure? do not some of them seem to dwell more like *Diogenes*, then like themselves? at leastwise rather in tents, and booths, then in houses? who knoweth these things to be so, and yet hath the heart to say that Citizens are well enough as they are and that it is no matter if *London* never be rebuilt. If God had not more love and pittie for them then they have that say such things; I know what they must trust to, but to the shame and confusion of their faces, who care not what becomes of *London* and *Londoners* and in despite of all the terrible predictions of Astrologers threatening us with I know not what sad effects of a third Comet. I doubt not but through the goodness of God *London* (as sinful a place as it is) will be built again.

And now a word to the Astrologers their predictions: because I hinted that objection in the second Chapter, and then forgot to answer it, what Astrologer in the world can assure us that when three Comets appear together, or within a little time one of another, each of them doth portend a several judgment, hanging over the head of that nation, or people which those Comets seem to point at. As *Joseph* told *Pharaoh*, *That the seven good kine are seven years, and the seven good ears, are seven years: and the dream is one*, Gen. 41. 26. That is, the two things he dreamt of, did point out but one and the same event: and as *Joseph* had two several dreams, Gen. 37. 5, 9. one about the Sheaves, and the other about the Sun, Moon and Stars, which were but one, and the same in signification so it may very well be that two or three Comets may point out but one and the same judgment,

But admit that each of those Blazing Sars were intended to foretel a several Judgment, it doth not follow that one of the Judgments thereby portended must needs be yet to come: for if I mistake not we have had three fore Judgments since those Comets; viz. Plague, Sword and Fire. But what I have here said to Astrologers I confess to be a digression in this place, and only the supply of an omission in the foregoing chapter; therefore I will not much insist upon it, but yet must needs put them in mind of that pat and pertinent place, *Isa. 44. 25. Thus saith the Lord that frustrateth the tokens of the liers, and maketh diviners mad, &c. v. 26. That saith unto Jerusalem, thou shalt be inhabited, and to the Cities of Judah ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed places thereof: v. 28. That saith unto Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built; and to the temple thy foundation shall be laid.* The Diviners seem in this place to be called lyars for that very reason, because they did prophecy *Jerusalem* should not be rebuilt (flattering the Babylonish monarchy, as if that should always last) whereas God had purposed to raise it up again. I would wish those great deciders (viz. of future contingencies) for so the name given to Astrologers *Isa. 47. 13.* doth signifie) to read that chapter also, and their doom in it: methinks ever since black Munday (as they called it) only black to the Astrologers themselves as I remember, by frustrating their predictions) that sort of men should learn to be more modest and not bear the world in hand, as if they were Secretaries of Heaven, or of the Almighty his privy counsel, which I no more believe then I do the vamping of some of their brethren who pretend to certain rules of their art (as *Tully* reporteth) of

forty thousand, yet some of seventy thousand years standing, whereas for many thousand years since that (the world being not yet six thousand years old) there were neither stars to observe, nor men to observe them.

But to return to the business in hand, I wish it were put to the vote of all the people in *England*, whether it be, or be not of great importance that *London* should be rebuilt. Here and there we might light upon a person that had an aking tooth against that City, and would vote for continuing it in its ashes, but I am well assured that five to one would be of another mind, and say we were undone if *London* were not restored I am bold to affirm (and therewith I shall conclude this Chapter) that he is a man that doth not understand consequences (which is the character of a person void both of Logick, and Reason) who thinks it a matter of no consequence and importance that *London* should be rebuilt.

DISCOURSE IV.

That it is convenient the re-edifying of London should be with all possible speed and expedition.

I Shall not compare the kindneses we have received from our Superiours, one with another (such comparisons as they say, are odious) but sure I am, they have not been more acknowledg'd, and thank'd for any thing they have done, than for their prudent Act for, and concerning the rebuilding of *London*: nor do I think there is any thing in that Act more thank-worthy, than the zeal they have expressed for the dispatch of that work, by in-
joyning

joyning under a great penalty, that every house should be rebuilt within the space of three years after the date thereof, (*pag. 94.*) though I doubt not but if that shall prove morally impossible to some, though not to all; they in their wisdom, and clemency will hereafter allow as much more time, as shall be thought absolutely necessary.

Now if any man shall think it was more than needed, to quicken men to a work, to which their own interest, and inclination, might so much prompt them; I must crave leave to dissent, and to tell them that the dull minds of men had need to be stirred up by more than Ceremonies, to those things in which they are greatly concerned, witness Lot himself, of whom it is said, *that whilst he lingered (which was whilst the Flames of Sodom were pursuing him) the men laid hold upon his hand (the Lord being merciful to him) and they brought him forth and set him without the City, Gen. 19. 16.*

I cannot but judge that the rebuilding of London calls for expedition, when I consider, how the burning Feaver which beset London in the year 66. was not the first fit of sickness it had lately been visited with, but a sore relapse, after it was newly (and but scarce) recovered out of other great, and dangerous maladies; not only acute, but chronical: who knows not that London had for many months together been brought even to deaths door with the Plague, and that it had lost abundance of blood, both red, white, and yellow, with a wasting War; insomuch that its great Physicians, have said long since, that both it, and the whole Kingdom, were in a deep Consumption. Not to recite all its Diseases, though I might name the Scurvey, Hypochondriacal Melancholly, and several others, which it is full of. Now this Ca-
lature

lerture, (the Fire I mean) coming after all the rest , hath brought it so very low, (together with the whole Nation) that without some strong Cordials, and powerful Restauratives, speedily administered, it cannot long subsist.

It cannot be forgotten, that *London* was but three or four daies a burning, and why should that which was destroyed in three or four daies , be longer in building and restoring than three, or four years, (provided it can be done in that time.) If I mistake not , I have heard of a Wall of great length , and circumference , which is about the great House in *Osterley Park* , that it was built in one nights time, by the help of an incredible number of Work-men, that were summoned in for that purpose, to entertain and amuse *Queen Elizabeth* who was there at that time , and knew not of the beginning of it, till she saw it finished; I am not certain of the story, but am sure our Proverb is true, viz. that *many hands make light work* , and though *Rome* were not built in one day , neither can *London* be ; yet if Work-men from all parts , were commanded to give their attendance upon that business, and upon nothing else , but what were of absolute necessity, till that were finished, *London* would go up amain, and appear something like a City in a little time. Alas ! Poor Citizens long to be settled once again, and to fall to their respective Trades, as formerly, making a hard shift mean time ; and pity it is, that whilst the grass is growing the Steeds should starve; that whilst the City is raising , the Citizens in the interim should be ruined. Therefore it is I so much press for expedition.

If our Governours would encourage the importing of all necessary materials, from forreign parts, (as I hear they intend) it would be a good, and acceptable

ceptable work, and nothing could carry a greater show of love and good will to that poor City, than that will do (which will never think it self beloved, unless its restauration be promoted, by them that have power to do it.)

And sith the great want of money is (as I am told) like to be the main hindrance of the rebuilding of *London*, how do I wish that Usurers, and all other great moneyed men, would bring forth their bags, and chearfully lend to Citizens for the purposes of building, securing themselves by the premises, and taking no other advantage when that is done.

Did all men long, as I think I long, to see another *London* (though I have little interest in it to what it hath in me) (and I think all *English* men should long for it as much as I do) I perswade my self, such treasure, and such assistance in every kind, would be brought in towards it, as would make a very quick dispatch even of so great a work.

But lest I my self be tedious, whilst I plead for others to use expedition, I shall conclude this Chapter, with what a Heathenish King gave in charge about the Temple of God at *Jernsalem*, (and their good Example will most of all condemn us Christians if we fall short of it) *And I Artaxerxes do make a Decree to all the Treasurers beyond the River, that whatsoever Ezra shall require of you, it be done speedily, Ezra 7. 21.*

DISCOURSE V.

*Of Building upon all the Ruines of the City with Brick
(as is injoynd.)*

I Hope it was not for state, but for security; not out of pride, but prudence; not for pomp, but for preservation; that it was injoynd, that so much of *London* as was burnt, should be built again all with Brick: For was not God very angry with those that said in the stoutness of their hearts; *The Bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones; the Sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into Cedars*; Isa. 9. v. 10, *Therefore the Lord shall set up the Adversaries of Rezin against him, and joyne his enemies together*, vers. 11. And were it not as great a crime to say, in a way of stoutness, the Rafter is fallen down, but we will build with Bricks, &c.

But as I said before, so I am in the same mind, that this was appointed in order to safety, rather than to state, and magnificence: And verily experience hath told us that Brick-buildings are in an ordinary way much more secure from the danger of Fire, than such as consist of much Wood and Timber: Witness those Skeletons of Brick-Houses, which we see standing since our dreadful Fire, which though it pickt out the Marrow (as I may call their insides, yet could not digest the bones, though it devoured the kernel of such Houses, could not quite destroy their shells: whereas it made no bones (as we speak Proverbially) of timber Houses, but consumed them intirely, and have left us nothing of them, but the excrements of Fire (so fed) I mean, dust and ashes.

Now

Now all such beauty and decency; as is the mere result and product of what is otherwise good, and necessary (like shadows that follow substances, or honour consequent upon virtue) is no offence to God, and should be none to men. Whatsoever is in all respects as is naturally behoofeful and necessary, for it to be, cannot likely want some degree of handsomenesse. Thus the body of a man (or other creature) all the parts of which are so formed, figured, and put together, as is most conducing to health, strength, and usefulness, cannot probably be otherwise than comely.

And so it fareth with the Exercises and Institutions of Religion, where all the substantials thereof meet together; as namely, when the Word of God is read to the people, gravely, distinctly, and devoutly; when the Minister preacheth soundly, and favourily, in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit; when he prayeth solidly, methodically, spiritually, and affectionately; when the people do hear, and joyn reverently, and attentively; I say, where these things meet, there doth unavoidably result abundance of decency, and solemnity, and such, as if one that *believeth not, or is unlearned, shall come in, may cause him to be convinced of all, and judged of all, and to fall down and worship God, reporting that God is in them of a truth,* as it is in 1 Cor. 14.23. where all the Order the Apostle prescribeth is, *that all things be done to edifying, verse 26. that Women keep silence in the Church, verse 34. that such as are fit to Prophecie should Prophecie but one, by one, and the rest hold their peace, verse 31. and that the spirits of the Prophets should be subject to the Prophets, ver. 32.* and such like things which are not arbitrary, but in their own nature necessary, and without which, in the judgement of all men, there would be meere confusion.

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Now

Now as in Religion, from such things, and such alone, as are absolutely necessary, there ariseth beautiful Order, which is of great advantage, and applauded by the very light of Nature; So I say in this inferiour affair of Architecture, though beauty and ornament, as such, were not at all look'd after, yet if other things which are indispensably needful (as safety and security is) be provided for, something of beauty, and handsomeness will follow of course, and when it flows from thence, ought in no case to be found fault with, but to be well accepted and commended. And this I take to be just Apology, for building London with Brick (though that kind of building be more stately than the former was) even after so sad a calamity.

Brick buildings, as they are not the meanest, and cheapest, so neither are they the most curious and chargeable, but of a middle sort: And verily, *in medio consistit virtus*, It is good to shun both extremes, even in Religion itself; in which as men ought not on the one hand to be pompous, and superstitious (putting it as it were, into the dress of a Harlot, or making as if it came to court our senses, and fancies) so neither on the other hand, to be rude, and slovenly, as if the out-side of a cup, or platter might well be nasty, if the in-side were but clean.

When we see a City built with Brick, how may it serve to put us in mind of our beginning, and first extraction, of our end, and dissolution, and especially of the manner of every true Believers resurrection from the dead.

What is Brick but Clay, or red Earth burnt, and whence had Adam his name, but from Adam, which signifieth red Earth? *Gen. 3. 19. till thou turn unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken.* No

only our bodies, but our souls, do yet dwell in houses of Clay, whose foundations is in the dust, for what else are our bodies? *Job 4. 19. Dust thou art, Gen. 3. 19. And God formed man of the dust of the ground, Gen. 2. 7.*

And may not the houses of Clay, Dust, or Brick, we dwell in, mind us, as whence we came, so likewise, whither we are going, viz. to the ground whence we came; *Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.* Now we bring the earth up to us, and place it about us, and over our heads, but the time hasteneth, in which we must go down to it, and make our beds in the bosom of it; Into this Mothers womb every of us must enter the second time, and be born again at the Resurrection of the dead.

And of that Resurrection also, may our City when it shall be all of Brick put us in mind, for then, after *so great a death*, as it had by the Fire, will it rise again, much more handsom, and beautiful, than it was before; So shall the bodies of Believers, which having been sown in corruption shall be raised in incorruption, and having been sown in weakness shall rise in power, *1 Cor. 15. and shall be made like to the glorious body of Christ.* though before they were vile bodies, &c.

Yet further, How much we are beholden to that mean creature which we tread upon every day (the Earth I mean) may be brought to our remembrance, when we view our houses of Brick, and what is Brick but Earth? From the dirty, dungy, despised Earth, have we meat, drink, sauce, corn, wine, oyl, linnen (which we must cloath our selves with whilst we live) and amongst other things the very houses we do, and must dwell in, as well living as dead. I write not this to make my self and others more in love with this Earth (which we are

apt to be too much) but to the end our great dependance (under God) upon so despicable a creature, may make us yet more vile in our own eyes, and our trampling upon that which we are so much beholden to, (though that we may do) may mind us of our trampling where we may not, *viz.* upon the Name, and Honour of God *who giveth us all things richly to enjoy.*

Can we behold those Bricks which our houses are, and must be made of, and not look back upon that sad trade which the poor *Israelites* were made to follow in *Egypt*, *viz.* of making Bricks, a double tale of Brick, yea without straw too (save what was of their own gathering) and can we chuse but think of the parallel case of all such poor Citizens, as have houses to build at almost a double charge, but not wherewithal to do it? Neither may we forget how seasonably the children of *Israel* were delivered when their task of Brick was doubled; for then came *Moses* (*cum duplicabantur lateres.*)

But it is high time to put a period to this Chapter, and wherewith can I do it better, than by some such solemn wish as this, that if the Lord please, the new City which we expect, may endure as much longer than the old did, as Bricks in themselves are more durable than Rafter; and that the prosperity of *Londoners* may be so great whilst it standeth, that whensoever their Bricks shall fall, they may be able to rebuild with hewen stones, and when their Elms and Oaks shall be worn out, they may be able to change them for Cedars.

DISCOURSE. VI.

Of ill burnt Bricks, and that great care should be taken to build the New City with good Materials.

WILL any trash serve for the building of our new City? was *London* so lately destroyed by the burning of its materials, and shall it quickly be destroyed again for want of materials (that is Bricks) duly burnt? Do we look for another Fire to burn our Bricks over again? It is said of *Ephraim*, *Hos. 7. 8.* *Ephraim is a Cake not turned*, meaning not thoroughly baked; that was spoken in a mysterious, and shall the same be true of *London* in a mechanical sense? Why do men make more hast than good speed? either build as may last, or not at all. If they that have Bricks to sell have no more Conscience than to offer such as are stark naught, you that are to buy should have more care and discretion than to accept of them.

Is it for cheapness sake that you make use of such unfit Commodities? then are you *penny-wise and pound-foolish*. I see no men are such losers as they that are over-saving, none so prodigal (though sore against their wills) as are the greatest misers. So some men sue at the Law for great things, which they justly claim, and lose their cause by starving it; and others, when sick, neglect advice, and dye as it were to save charges. To such our homely Proverb is but too applicable, *They will lose a sheep to save a half-penny-worth of Tar*; but that of *Solomon* is much better. *There is that withholdeth what is meet, and it turneth to poverty.*

They say that Bricks were never worse than they have bin of late, and yet never dearer. And it is

an ordinary case, for things when they are of least worth and value, to be of greatest price. Thus some people who pay the most Tythes have the worst Preaching, and some of the richest Benefices are worst supplied; Yea, thus some give themselves more cost and pains to ruine souls, and consequently their own, (*Compassing Sea and Land to make men more the children of the Devil*) than others do to save the Souls of themselves and others. Alas that the worst things should cost most, or that men should give any thing for that which is stark naught (like unsavory Salt fit for nothing but the dunghill) and that men should not rather say as one did in another case *non enim tanti poenitere*, They will not give so dear for what they shall afterwards repent of.

They that take bad Bricks, do in effect make them (or are as bad as them that do, as we say *The receiver is as bad as the Thief*) for if none would buy those Bricks that were such, no such would be made for sale. This were the way to make all traders honest, viz. to take nothing off their hands but what were good, and to that end to advise with those that have judgment in such things in case we have none our selves. Some things we say are good of the price, but other things are good at no price, because good for nothing, and so are bad Bricks as for the purposes of Building.

Have Magistrates taken care to stop one leak by ordering we should build with brick, and will we spring another? have they appointed us a good kind of Materials, and will we not take that which is good in its kind? Surely good timber is better to build with than bad brick (as *Salomon* saith, *A living dog is better than a dead Lion*), for the first will not presently decay, without Fire befall it, but the other will of its own accord, and suffer as much injury from

from successive Frosts, and thaws (which come of course) as the latter shall by fire it self, which may not happen in an age.

I foresee the fate of those unhappy houses that have been built with ill burnt bricks, that shortly they will molder away to dust, (and so I hear that some of them have begun to do already.) The like (if my Prognosticks fail me not) will likewise befall those Societies both Ecclesiastical and Civil, which are constituted of ill members, (Principal ones especially) which are as so many bad and unserviceable bricks in houses. Such Societies, like such houses, probably cannot stand long.

I much suspect the same fate will befall a great part of the young Generation that is now springing up, viz. that in a few years they will crumble away like houses built with ill burnt bricks, (considering how vicious the present age is). For who can bring a sound thing out of that which is unsound; any more than a clean thing out of that which is unclean? where the bones are rotten the Marrow will be filthy, and the product of it will be more of that which is rotten: which notion is more proper to be here inserted, because that Generation in Scripture, is called the building up of a house, and children are called *Banim* from an Hebrew root which signifieth to build.

Our ill burnt Bricks are methinks the sad emblem of one thing more, and that is of all such Professors who have been meerly singed and scorched with the slender heat of some overly convictions, but were never brought to a due firmness or confidence, by lying long enough in and under that Furnace which the Scripture calleth a *Spirit of bondage*. Such may be laid into the building of the Church, but will scarcely hold out.

But whilst I caution against bad bricks, I would caution as much against bad timber, as namely such as hath been seared and overdried by the fire; and no less against bad mortar. For to *dance with untempered mortar*, cannot be safe; mortar being that to a house, which love is to a society, *viz.* That which binds, and cements all together.

Surely *England* doth not want for good materials within it self, but if the daughters will not be kind to their mother (that is if other parts of *England*, will not be kind to *London*, their mother City) we being now at peace with many nations that can furnish us for building purposes, and having store of nimble messengers, that can fly about the world, upon the wings of the wind, and fetch home great burthens (as our ships are) should for *Londons* use, have enough of brick, timber, and every thing else, and that good and cheap enough; if it be to be had in Christendom.

DISCOURSE VII.

Of its being intended that the new Buildings should be more magnificent then were the old.

WHerewithall shall I excuse what I know be designed, *viz.* That the City now to be built should be more stately, and sumptuous, then that which was lately burnt? The second Temple, for matter of outward splendor, was not comparable to the first, which made the old men weep that had seen them both. Is this to humble our selves under the mighty hand of God? is this to accept the punishment of our iniquity? is this to lay our mouths in the dust, if there may be hope?

or is not this to say we will have beauty for ashes, we will build our nests on high; though God hath laid us lower then ever, or is not this to do like the Jews of old; who when called of God to *weeping, mourning, baldness, and To girding with sackcloth, fell to slaying of Oxen, killing of Sheep, drinking wine, &c.* Isa. 22. 12, 13. *Which iniquity God said should not be purged from them till they died: that is, were destroyed, v. 14.*

Were this said in the pride, and stoutness of our hearts, that we would have another City more beautiful then the former (as they of *Samarita* are challenged by God to have said in the pride of their hearts) *The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with stone, Isa. 9. 10.* There were no excusing it, yea some great Judgment might be expected to insue it, but the greater stateliness of the new City then of the old, I take to be rather *finis operis* then *finis operantis*, that is to say, the effect of some other, and more necessary thing, which was primarily, if not only designed, then any thing contrived, by and for its self.

I have said already, that the law for building only with brick, was in order to greater security, and indemnity from fire. Then, as for making several streets broader then they were before, that the great, and many inconveniences, which were formerly found in and by the narrowness of *Thames Street*, and some others, may satisfy any man, was but expedient, and necessary. And whereas some may think the new houses carry, and are appointed to carry, their heads too high, and rise up to a greater altitude, then doth become them, after so humbling a judgment, good reason may be assigned for that, *viz.* That it was enacted they should do so in order to the gaining of more room, and that

that so much the rather, because a great deal of room hath, and will be lost otherwise, by the new model of the City, and particularly, by widening of the streets, those Latitudinarian streets (if I may so call them) inforcing as it were altitudinarian houses.

Now from the three forementioned causes, *viz.* The buildings being of brick, the breadth of the Streets, and the height of the houses greater then formerly: thence I say principally, if not only, will spring that beauty and lustre, which the new City, or the major part of it, is like to have above the old, all which things being necessary for other reasons, and having been done upon their account, ought at no hand to be found fault with.

As men may fast and mourn and yet not disfigure their countenances whereby to appear to men to fast, but may anoint their beads (that day) and wash their faces: and Christ commendeth so doing, as best, *Mat. 5. 16.* So may the outward visage of our City be handsome, and beautiful, and yet we our selves nevertheless truly sensible both of our sins and miseries.

I Should think a City of *London*; outwardly more splendid then ever, might in some respects increase our humiliation, rather then inflame our pride, even as a poor man, clad in a rich habit, might from thence have more sad, and frequent reflections upon his poverty, as thinking with himself how unfutable the fineness of his outward garb, is to the meanness of his condition, and how much otherwise it is really with him, then by his habit strangers would take it to be.

But that a stately City, raised in a short time out of a ruinous heap, might conduce to stirr up in us more of thankfulness, and admiration of Gods goodness, I see not who can deny: *with this staff* (said *Jacob*)

Jacob) passed I over Jordan, and now the Lord hath made me two bands, Gen. 32. 10. Which surely he acknowledged, with more thankfulness, and wonder, then he would have done; if God had made him but one band, no bigger then either of his two

Moreover another *London* more magnificent then the former, how great an eye sore would it be to the enemies of that City; who most barbarously rejoyced at its flames, and triumphed at its funeral, and would (if they knew how) have rolled so great a stone over its grave, that it should never have been capable of rising again? I say when those envious persons, shall come to see two staffes in the hand of *London*, viz. *Beauty and Bands* (that is State, and Strength) alluding to *Zech. 11.*) neither of which they expected: how will that sight abate their pride, confront their malice, and confound their devices.

Lastly a stately City should methinks provoke the inhabitants to a generous emulation, of being so wealthy, and substantial; as by it they seem or make shew to be. If so goodly a City be to *Londoners*, at the first erecting of it, like a garment that is much to big for him that weareth it, yet may it put them upon indeavouring to grow so fast, that it may be fit for them, if it be to them, as raiment of needle work, or of wrought gold; such as the Kings Daughter is said to be, *Psf. 45. 13.* may it not stir them up to be like her *all glorious within*: that their inside and outside may well agree together?

Now, Lord, though it may be it was not out of pride, or affectation of pomp, that we have designed to build so fine a City; yet possibly we may be proud of so fine a City when it is once built, and if so Lord humble us for that our pride, but destroy us

us not again, and if like those times of which it was said they had *golden challices but wooden Priests*, it may be said of us we have a rich City but poor inhabitants, we shall in that respect have great cause to be humble, and Lord do thou make us as humble, and lowly as we have cause to be.

DISCOURSE VIII.

That all persons employed and made use of in, and in order to the rebuilding of London, ought therein more especially to use all care and good conscience.

Workmen do your office, and do it like workmen that need not to be ashamed, and like honest men. If you take building by the great, make no more hast with it then good speed; but if you take it by the day, make as much hast as will consist with good speed. Do by *Londoners* as you would be done by, build for them as you would build for your selves: we may have a noble City (God permitting) if you will but play your parts.

Make no more faults then you needs must, that you may make work for your selves to mend those faults which you have wilfully made, and put those you build for, to a greater charge and trouble. The foolish builder is a name of infamy in the scripture, and the knavish one is worse: Be not you *like smoak to the eyes of those you build for*, as Solomon speaketh of a *stouthful messenger, that he is so to him that sendeth him*. Build with such acurateness, as *Apelles* is said to have painted, for which he gave this reason *Pingo eternitati*, so do you build as it were once for all. Let *London* by the universal care, and honesty of its builders, one and all; be made so excellent

a structure, that it may both now and hereafter be a praise, and a renown to any of you, to have had a hand in the raising of that Fabrick, or to have been any waies related to that work, as it is said in reference to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, *Psal. 74. 5. A man was famous according as he had lifted Axes upon the thick Trees: viz.* in order to the building of that Temple. Expresse your kindnesse to *London* to like effect with what is written, in *Cant. 8. 9. If she be a Wall we will build upon her a Palace of Silver, and if she be a Door, we will inclose her with Boards of Cedar;* which are the Words of Christ, and of his Church, contriving some good for the uncalled *Gentiles*, set forth under Metaphors taken from such improvements of small and rude beginnings, as Builders are able to make. In this building aim not only at private gain, but at publique good; at the honour and welfare of the Nation, in which your selves will have a share; get as little as may be either for work or stuff, of them that have lost so much: *take the over-sight thereof not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind*, which is the advice given to spiritual Builders in a higher case, but not unapplicable to this purpose.

As for those, who shall have the custom of *Londoners* for Bricks, Tiles, Timber, Glasse, Lead, Iron, and other materials which concern building, I conjure them by all that is worthy, as they pretend to any thing of Christianity, or of humanity, to use them kindly after so great a calamity as hath befallen them: Give them their full quantity of every thing they bargain for, and let them have that which is truly good, and at as low a price as you can afford: Rather wrong your selves, than wrong them who have suffered so many things already,
rather

rather lose, than gain too much by them ; and yet I would wish you not to do that neither ; Let it never be said that you were raised by the Ruines of *London*, or that the impoverishing of that City, was that which made you rich, unlesse you can become rich, by a very small, and slender profit out of each commodity.

If you be *English-men* *London* is your Mother, (as *Jerusalem* was the Mother of the *Jews*, which are called the Daughters of *Jerusalem* Cant. 1. 5.) and consequently *Londoners* are your Brethren, and will you not use them as such.

Alas ! many poor Citizens are laying out all they have in the world (yea possibly more than all they have of their own) upon that one house which they are building for their pure necessity, and will you diminish those two mites, which are all the treasure they have to lay out ? We read in *Nathan's Parable*, of a poor man who had nothing save one little Ewe Lamb, 2 Sam. 12. 3. which lay in his bosom, &c. Surely the house which some indigent Citizens are building, is to them, as that Ewe-lamb was to the poor man, and will you injure him in that one Lamb ? Will you make him pay so much for his materials that he shall never be able to pay for his house : Did I know that man that had abused, or would abuse a burnt-out Citizen, in relation to his house (whether as to materials or workmanship) I say to abuse him (or such a one) of all men else, I would discharge that Apostolical Canon in his face, and hereby I do discharge it, viz. That no man go beyond, or defraud his Brother in any matter, because that the Lord is the avenger of all such; as we have forewarned you and testified, 1 Thes. 4. 6.

DISCOURSE IX.

Of such as have made bold, or shall make bold with other men their materials, or with any part thereof.

I Hear that some have borrowed without leave, (if that may be called borrowing) that is of some who have taken their neighbours Bricks, and other materials, which lay near to their own Ruines, and have built their houses with them, as confidently as if they had been their own. Do such men think that the Fire hath made all things common; that it did or could (Leveller-like) destroy all propriety (and that not only *de facto*, but *de jure*;) Is now all your own you can lay hands upon? and doth every thing of right belong *primum occupanti*, to him that can first get it into his possession? Nay surely, it is rather a kind of sacrilege to take from men what the Fire had left them, forasmuch as the reliques of the Fire, may in some sense be accounted Sacred, and a kind of *Deodates*, or things vouchsafed us, or reserved for us by God immediately. He hath a hard heart who grudgeth any man that small Legacy, or Remainder of any thing which that most cruel Fire left him, when it dyed, or went out; That took away your neighbor's Vintage, and will you grudge them the Gleanings of their own ground? Behold! Theft upon Theft, and that is the falsest Heraldry that can be. Citizens were Robbed when their houses were burning, and now that they would build their houses, they are robb'd again.

You cannot think that your Neighbors Bricks and other materials have so far trespassed by lying near to yours, that you may lawfully pound them, in

in your own houses from whence they are never like to be released ? if he had took your materials as you did his, how would you have taken it at his hands ? would you have put it up quietly ?

In *Jer. 23. 30.* it is written, *Bekold I am against the Prophets saith the Lord that steal my Word every one from his Neighbor.* Was God against those Spiritual builders (for so are Prophets) which stole his Word from one another as *Hananiah* did from *Jeremiah*, using the same words, though to other purposes, *Thus saith the Lord, &c.* (*Jer. 28. 2.* compared with *Jer. 49. 1.* and *37.*) taking the very words out of *Jeremiahs* mouth, &c. How much more will he be against those temporal builders, which steal away each others Materials, because these latter cannot both make use of the same Materials at the same time, but that the former (*viz.* the Prophets) might have done, two of them might have spoken the same thing at the same time, but two houses cannot be built with the same numerical Bricks, &c.

Think of a few passages in *Habbakkuk 2. v. 6.* *Wo to him that increaseth that which is not his. How long ? and that ladeth himself with thick Clay,* which words are literally applicable to those that build with bricks which are not their own, ver. 9. *Wo to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high,* v. 10. *Thou hast consulted shame to thy house,* v. 11. *For the stones shall cry out of the Wall, and the beam out of the Timber shall answer it,* ver. 12. *Wo to him that establisheth a City by iniquity.*

Suppose the greater part of your materials were honestly come by, even nineteen parts in twenty, but a twentieth part, or some much less proportion, were got by stealth, it is greatly to be feared and verily to be expected, that even so small a pittance of that which was stolen, will go nigh to raine all the

the rest, if satisfaction be not timely made for the injury done, and the sin repented of, (as *Gideon* his one only bastard destroyed his 70 sons that were lawfully begotten, *Judg* 9. 5.

Therefore my advice in short is this, If thou hast made use of any part of thy Neighbours Materials unwittingly, and afterwards dost come to know it, satisfy him for the principal, and tender him a fifth part over, and above (if he please to accept it) for so was the Law of Restitution in case of unwilful injury, *Numb*. 5. 7. but if thou have taken any thing from him knowingly, offer him five for one (if thou art able so to do) for so was provided under the Law, if any man did injure another wilfully, *Exod*. 22. 1. When thou art in thy Belcony, or at the top of thy high house think of *Zachaus* in the Sycamore-Tree, and of what he said, (though not there) *If I have taken any thing from any man falsely, I will restore him fourfold*, *Luke* 14. 8.

DISCOURSE X.

Of such as have not wherewithal to build again.

ALas for those poor *Londoners* that would build their houses again, and cannot. If men cannot rise without money in the case (as is generally too evident) how should houses? *Haud facile emergunt quarum virtutibus obstat Res angusta domus*, is as true as if it had been *domi*; that is, it holds as certain in houses as in men: It is money must raise them. But what shall they do that have it not, nor can by any means procure it? I know no way but one, *viz.* they must sell their ground; but there is the misery, who will give them to the worth of it? They

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that know they must, or are forced to sell, think to buy it as they list, or at some such rates as too many have bought *Debenters*, it may be at a Noble, for the worth and value of each pound. Thus poor men are bought and sold, as the Prophet expresseth it, *for a pair of shoes, Amos 2. 6.* A rich commodity in a poor mans hand, is nothing worth; so barbarously are men upon the catch, taking their utmost advantages one against another, which is to make a vice (instead of a vertue) of necessity, I mean a vice to themselves, out of the necessity of others; For doubtless he that buyeth out poor men so cheaply, *selleth himself to work wickedness.* Well, what said *Ahab* to *Naboth*, *1 Kin. 21. 2. Give me thy Vineyard, and I will give thee for it a better Vineyard than that; or if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money.* He offered a valuable consideration for *Naboths* ground; will you be worse than that *Ahab*? If your Brethren be hungry, will you take occasion thereby to purchase their Birth-right for a *mess* of pottage (as *Jacob* did) who was many wayes crossed afterwards in one kind, and in another? What blessing can be expected, or rather what curse may not be lookt for upon those houses, the foundations of which are laid in oppression, and grinding the faces of the poor; who in order to bread, are forced to suffer their own faces to be ground? Are no merciful men to be found, who in consideration of the necessity of poor men, will give them for their ground rather more than it is worth, at leastwise full as much? yea, why should not every man be so far forth merciful, sith the latter of the two is but to be just? Art thou in a purchasing case, buy poor mens ground at a full rate, build upon it, and when that is done, if they be able to pay a moderate Rent, and it may be a courtesie to them, become

come their Landlord? He may prove a sufficient Tenant, who is not able to build his own house, and his Landlord may have a blessing for his sake; for *blessed is he that considereth the poor*, Psa. 40. 1.

Be not you discouraged, if you cannot build your selves, another mans house may be as commodious for you, as one of your own erecting; and if there happen to be inconveniencies in it, they will not so much upbraid and vex you, as if they had been contracted by your own misbuilding (as they might have been) *Nam quæ non fecimus ipsi, hæc ea nostra voco*; you are not chargeable with the faults of those houses which you did not make, or build your selves.

I have one thing more to say to such as must sell their ground, and are dejected at the thoughts of so doing: Were you not so far undone, that you could not attempt to build, who knows whither you (as many others have been, and it is supposed will be) might not be undone by building?

DISCOURSE XI.

That a strict observation of the Lords day might greatly promote the rebuilding of the City.

THe Lords Day is not that Sabbath which was first so called, for that was the last day of the week, whereas it is the first; yet a Sabbath it is, and doubtless injoyed, in, and by the same Commandment that the Jewish Sabbath was, *viz.* the fourth; for whosoever doth not acknowledge it so to be, must either say that there is no Sabbath at all, or day of holy rest to be kept under the New Testament, and consequently, that there are now

but nine Commandments in the Moral Law, the fourth being abrogated and expired; whereas Christ hath told us, *That till heaven and earth pass, one jot shall in no wise pass from that Law*, Mat. 5. 18. or else they must say, that the last day of the week is that which ought alwayes to be observed by Christians (as it is by Jews) for the only Sabbath, and weekly holy day, that is for ever to be celebrated in obedience to that Command. Most Christians are averse from Judaizing, in taking Saturday for their Sabbath, chusing rather to imitate the practise of the Apostles, whose manner it was to observe not the last, but first day of the week, which we conclude they would not have done, but by Warrantie and Commission from Christ (who alone was *Lord of the Sabbath*) so to do.

Yet some few Christians there are, who symbolize with the Jews in their Saturday-Sabbath, and keep the same day as holy as they can: And verily (if in this case I may speak my mind freely) they are much less too blame who keep a Saturday-Sabbath, than they who keep none at all; who understand that Commandment as the Jews do, than they who make as if it were abrogated and disannulled.

But he that shall fall into neither of the extremes aforesaid, but shall confess that the first day of the week is that which was instituted for Christians by the fourth Commandment, must needs own it to be a Sabbath, because instituted and appointed by and under that name, Exod. 20. 8. *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy*: and v. 11. *The Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it*.

That it was necessary I should prove there is a Sabbath yet in being, and that the day which men ought weekly to observe as holy to the Lord, throughout

roughout all Ages, is called the Sabbath, to the end I might shew that the Promises made, and incouragements given to such as have kept, or shall keep holy the Sabbath day, are not insignificant, and out of date, as to us, who live under the New Testament.

Having done that, it will be easie to prove what I have affirmed in the Title of this Chapter, viz. that a strict observation of the Sabbath (for so is the Lords day to Christians) would greatly promote the building of the City; witness that pregnant promise, which of its self were a sufficient testimony, Isa. 58. 12, 13. *And they that shall be of thee, shall build the wast places, thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, and restorer of paths to dwell in: If thou turn away thy foot from my Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable, and shalt honour him, not doing thine own wayes, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, v. 14. I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; (that is, to dwell aloft in places of security and safety.) or the words may glance at the Land of Judea, being much of it Mountainous, and feed thee with the Heritage of Jacob thy Father; that is, with the good things of the Land of Canaan, given for an inheritance to him for his posterity. See Isa. 56. 6, 7. Every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, even them will I bring to my holy Mountain, that is, to Mount Sion, on which the Temple was situate. See also Jer. 17. 24. If ye hallow the Sabbath to do no work thereon, then the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and this City, shall remain for ever: v. 28. But if you will not hallow the Sabbath day, I will kindle a fire which shall devour the Palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.*

From those Texts I infer, that unto keeping the Sabbath, several promises of God, building and blessing of Cities, and furnishing men with desirable habitations are made; as on the other hand, the profaning and polluting of the Sabbath is threatened, with the destruction of Cities, and of their Inhabitants; which being true in the general, or in *thesi*, it must needs be in *hypothesi*, or in particular, that a Religious observation of the Sabbath day would help to build our City.

Who knows not that *Nehemiah* was a great and principal Agent in the building of *Jerusalem* after it was burnt, *Nehem.* 2. 5. and what Magistrate was ever more zealous than he (if so zealous) to have the Sabbath day kept holy? witness his contending with Merchants, and Tradesmen of all sorts; yea, with the very Nobles of *Judah*, for profaning the Sabbath, *Nehemiah* 13. from 15. to v. 22. Did not your Fathers thus (said he) to the Nobles? and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon our City, viz. destruction by fire, yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath. If profanation of Sabbaths procure the burning of Cities; the sanctification of that day will promote the building thereof.

It is said, *Eadem est ratio loci & temporis*; time and place are much akin; if we would have regard to Gods time, he would have respect to our place, or places; if we would mind his day, would he not mind our dwellings? the sanctifying of Sabbaths, is the intrusting of God with the seventh part of our time (even then when time is most precious with us) Now God is alwayes bountiful to them that do greatly trust him, *Mal.* 3. 10. Bring all the tithes into the Storehouse, and prove me therewith, saith the Lord, if I will not poure you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it; as if God had said, Do
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but trust me with the tenth part of the encrease, and you shall see what the other nine shall amount to. If we in like manner would trust God with the seventh part of our time (for so our Sabbaths are) doubtlesse the other six would through the blessing of God, turn to a much better account.

I doubt not to say that one day in seven (that is, every Lords day) we might promote the building of *London*, much more in Churches and Closets, than we could do in working upon the respective foundations, for that indeed would set it back, and might provoke God to swear in his Wrath, it should never be brought to perfection.

I observe what is said of *Manna*, *Exod. 16. 29.* *The Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day, the bread of two daies, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day, viz. to gather Manna.* God made them amends for forbearing to progue on the Sabbath-day.

They that did as God had appointed them on the Sabbattical year, *viz. Neither sow their Fields, nor prune their Vineyards, Levit. 25. 4.* nor reap what grew of its own accord, intirely for themselves, but let it lye in common to others, lost no more by so doing, than a Husbandman doth by letting his ground lye fallow when it is out of heart, that it may yield a greater encrease hereafter; see *Levit. 25. 20.* *If ye shall say, what shall we eat the seventh year, behold we shall not sow nor gather in our encrease, not for two years together, when a Sabbattical year, and a Jubile came together) verse 21. Then will I command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years.* He knew not what he said, who derided Christians as men that lost the seventh part of their time because of the Sabbaths they kept, whereas Sabbaths kept as they

ought to be, are no losse, but the most profitable part of time.

But alas, we so carry the matter as to lose a great part of that hallowed time, which is of all our time most precious, making holyday of a great part thereof, in such sense, as Children do understand holy-daies; viz. as meer pastimes and play-daies; I fear we begin our Sabbaths too late, and end them too early; we do not remember the Sabbath soon enough to keep it holy as we should, and we forget it too soon, we are not intent enough, either upon preparation before, or prosecution afterwards. The Sabbaths which men generally keep now a daies, are not only unlike to those of glorious Saints and Angels in Heaven, but to such as were kept by those good Christians, whom some intended to reproach by fixing upon them the honourable name of Puritans, which sort of men, I remember one that was none of them himself, had wont to divide into two ranks, saying, there was the *Knave Puritan* (that is one, that was so but in pretence, and for a colour) and there was the *Knave's Puritan*, whom he confessed to be a very honest man, and of an excellent sort) but out of malice called a Puritan by such as were Knaves themselves; because that to such as themselves, the Name was odious; though both Name, and Person were so only for their goodness. Now having heard a distinction to that effect, I must explain my self, and tell you that it was the *Knave's Puritan* (that is, he, and such as he, whom Knaves had wont to call so) of whom I affirm, that he had wont to keep Sabbaths at another guise rate, than we observe them kept now a daies, (such as Reverend *Dod*, *Hildersham*, &c.) and yet they were not upon their good behaviour (as we are) for the building a poor City ly-

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ing in ashes. They would have blusht to have seen our Sabbaths; Oh that we could blush to think of them: they would scarce have been able to think us sincere Christians, observing us to have so small a regard to the fourth Commandement; They would have often rebuked us sharply, for our Sabbath-daies discourse, and minded us of the Text that saith, we should not speak our own words on the Lords day, *Isa. 58.* when in this respect shall we be followers of those worthies aforesaid, who now inherit the Promises? A City, the greater part of whose former Inhabitants were such Sanctifiers of Gods Sabbaths as they were, would certainly not long lye in Ashes, but God would cause the wast places thereof to be built. Alas that now our City is down in the dust, such Master-builders as they (in the sense I have spoken to) are dead, and gone.

I wonder not that such as are enemies to Religion, have a particular grudge against the Sanctifying of the Sabbath, or appointing it to be sanctified, sith the preservation of all practical godliness (so far as is in men to preserve it) doth so much depend thereupon. For alas what time have men and women, who lye down late, and rise up early, all the week long, to get their livings (as the greater part of people do) I say, what time could, or would they generally reserve to look after God, and their souls, if it were not for the Lords Day, preserved by the sanction of the Magistrate from violation, by mens open following of their Trades, and designed for religious uses.

But it is not the common-place of the Sabbath that I undertook to handle in this Chapter, but what, and how great a tendency, a due care taken both by Magistrates, and people, for the Sanctification of

of that day, would have to promote the building of our City; and that I hope I have demonstrated.

DISCOURSE XII.

Of the help that may, and is meet to be afforded towards the rebuilding of London.

SHall the ashes of *London* upbraid rich men both in City, and country, with their unkindness towards it: (those I mean that have no immediate concernment of their own) shall they cry with a loud voice; how long shall *London* lye in the dust, for want of men or moneys, so long as all *England* can afford them? Or is *England* so drained, and exhausted of either of these (even of money it self) that there is not enough to spare for the reedifying of *London*. Though a great part of the Nation be impoverished at this day, doubtless many have wealth enough, and to spare. Some have great Estates and no Children, others have great Estates and Children; but not worthy to be intrusted with such Estates; some have been great gainers by the late revolutions, yea some by those very judgments which have of late befallen us, even by the fire it's self (which did not only spare their houses, but much advance their rents) though thousands may have need to sell what they are possessed of, yet some hundreds (I believe) are ready for considerable purchases, and have such persons as I have named, nothing to spare, for, and towards, the rebuilding of such a City? are they like to give any thing to any good uses (living, or dying) who will give nothing to this. If mens gold and silver lye cankered by them: whilst there is such an occasion to lay it out, shall not the rust thereof be a witness against

against them, and eat their flesh as it were fire, James. 5.

33. Who wonders not (as the case now stands) to see any rich man dye, and leave nothing to *London* in his will? many places that are burnt down, were built by charity at the first, and must be so again if ever they be restored; and many persons are by the fire become the objects of charity, who were not so before, but rather the subjects, and dispensers of it: many that had wont to give, are now forced to receive: many that kept good houses, have now no houses to keep; nor wherewith to build them any. To build for their sakes were most charity; but if you will not do so, build for your selves (I mean for your own profit, in conjunction with a publick good) and let them to whom you please. Build with regard to a noble City (now desolate) if you will not do with respect to indigent, and impoverished Citizens.

Had *London* been the tail of all the Cities of *England*, it had been pittie to have always lost it; but much more pittie it would be in regard it was the head. We read how *the people lift up their voices and wept, that there should be one tribe lacking in Israel*; and yet that tribe was but little *Benjamin*, Judg. 21. 3. Had it been *Judah* (and was not *London* as it were our *Judah*) would not their lamentation have been yet greater? As they studied to repair that lost tribe, so should all English-men endeavour to repair this: It will chiefly concern rich men to do it, but surely the poor are not quite exempted. As in repairing the high wayes, our laws have provided, that they who do not or cannot hire others, should work at it themselves, so many dayes: So methinks it should be in repairing of this great breach. It is a common good, and therefore should be done at a common charge, though mostly at theirs who have
most

most interest in & benefit by it. They that had not gold, and silver to bring for the building of the Tabernacle, were to bring *Goats hair, or Badgers skins, or the like, Exod. 25. 5.* And would it not in like manner become every body, to offer something towards this work, even poor widdows to cast in their mites? All rivers as well small as great, pay tribute to the Sea, *to the Sea whence they came, thither they return again, saith Solomon, Eccles. 1.* and are not other parts of *England* to *London* as rivers to the main Ocean? If the light of the Sun were extinguished, all the stars were they intelligent, would help to reinkindle it; for though the Sun doth obscure them, yet it brighteneth the firmament, and there can be no day without it; so all places & parts of *England* should contribute to restore *London*, though obscured by it: because without it *England* its self would be obscure, and as it were benighted.

I am deceived, if most families in *England*, have not some relation to *London*, either by descent or alliance, more immediate, or more remote, and shall they see this worthy relation of theirs lye in the dust, and not do what they can to help it out.

When we have forts to build, is not the country round about commanded in, to assist in that work? what is *London* but the great fort, and bulwark of *England* (in more senses than one) and being so, every mans assistance, & contribution therunto, may well be expected. They that have noble woods shold rather cut down every Tree, than let *London* want Timber; they that have Iron, shold rather empty all their mines, than let the City lye wast for want of that commodity: if you be English men *London* is yours, that is, you have great interest in it, though you be no Londoners.

How

How naturally doth a mans hand lift up its self when his head is struck at, and offer to take the blow? how naturally do bloud, and spirits come from where they were, and resort to that part which is wounded, though inferiour to those parts whence they came? Doth not even nature it self teach us, by such things as those, what should be done in the case of *London*? *London* is the head, and therefore should be relieved with both hands (that is with as many as *England* hath, though it were with danger to themselves.

All *England* is but one political body, whereof *London* is (as I said before) the head. Now all members of the same body, should not only sympathise with, but succour one another in a time of distress; but the principal members, especially ought to be succoured by the rest: when, and as need requireth. *London* then should be helpt by all *English-men*, either their persons, pains, parts, purses, prayers, some or all of them, and whatsoever else they have to be helpful with.

It will pass for a demonstration amongst our foreign neighbours, that *England* is ruined, and not able to help its self, if *London* be not rebuilt.

DISCOURSE XIII.

That not only England, but all great Brittain, and Ireland, and all the Protestant part of the World, is concerned in the restoration of London.

HE that is a friend to *London*, is (as such) a friend not only to one City, or to one Kingdom, but to three united under one and the same Sovereign, viz. to *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: These three like the several Kingdoms and Principalities

palities in *Germany* constitute but one Emperour : They are but three great Arms of one and the same Sea or Ocean, the great Port or Haven whereof is *London* : They are but three great branches of that mighty Tree, whereof *London* is the root. So Moralists divide the Soul into several faculties, as the Understanding, Will and Affections, whereas the Soul is indeed but one, all is but one Soul notionally so diversified, and distinguished. So some Divines tell us, that whereas we speak of several Graces, calling one Faith, another Love, a third Repentance, &c. it is no otherwise to be understood, than when we speak of the Brittish, the Irish, the German Ocean, and several others; all which indeed are but one and the same, assuming different names and appellations, from the different shores which they wash upon : It is not distance of place, nor yet interposition of Seas, (one or more) that can make those places unconcern'd one in another, which do all belong to one and the same Prince and Governour, any more than our feet are, or can be unconcerned in our heads, because they stand at as great a distance therefrom, as can be in one and the same body.

Doubtless *London* is the glory, the strength and stability, the Magazine and Storehouse, of all the three Nations, at leastwise so it hath been, and so it is necessary it should alwayes be, and so I hope it will.

First, I say it is and hath been the beauty and glory of these three Kingdomes : These three Regions are but one Firmament, and the Sun of that Firmament hath still been *London*; all three have shoon with the beams of *London*; as they say in Law a Wife doth (*radie mariti*) with the beams of her Husband. Doubtless *Scotland* and *Ireland* were

were proud of a *London* they had interest in ; (and which in a sense was theirs as well as *Englands*, though not so much) if *London* were our Mother, it was their Grandmother, and that was an honour to them.

I have further said, that *London* was the strength and stability of the three Kingdomes , and so it was ; as when there are three great Families allied to one another , (suppose as Brethren or Sisters) they are a mutual strength and establishment one to another ; but the Head, or Chieftain of the greatest Family , is a greater ornament and support to all the three, than any one of the rest, is or can be. So in this case ; for *London* was (as I may call it) the Head of these three great Families, (Kingdomes I mean.) As the strength of *Sampson* lay in his hair, and when that was cut, he became weak as another man , so did the strength and puissance of these three Nations lie in *London* ; there the force of *England* was most united ; there, as in a center, all the lines of strength did meet, and a sure rule it is, that *vis unita fortior, the more united any force is, the stronger it is.* *London* was as the Sea, the tide whereof runs much more strongly than that of particular rivers , because all rivers run into the Sea, and from thence hath its name , *Gen. 1. 10. The gathering together of the waters be called Seas.* The beams of strength were concentrated in *London*, the great populousness and plenty, its great fulness both of people , wealth and wisdom considered, as the beams of the Sun might be in a burning-glass.

It will need little proof, that *London* is also the great Magazine , and store-house of the three United (if now I may call them united) Kingdoms , *London* as *Tyre* may be called a *Mart of Nations*, it being the great Emporium or Mart-Town, to which,

which, not *England* only, but also *Scotland* and *Ireland* are beholden for multitudes of commodities: Not only Country Towns, and inferiour Cities in *England*, do replenish themselves with many or most things, which they need from the City of *London*, but also *Edenburgh* and *Dublin*, the two *Metropolēs*, one of *Scotland*, the other of *Ireland*, (if I may call them any more than *London's* Deputies, or vice *Metropolitans*) are glad to do the same. Thus we see these three Nations are in point of honour, strength and Supplies, united under one great City, viz. *London*, as well as under one and the same King (the genius of our Government affecting a kind of Monarchy as well in and amongst Cities, as in other things.) And thus what was said of *Jerusalem*, holds true of *London*, *she was great amongst the Nations, and Princeesse amongst the Provinces*, Lam. ii. ii.

Now if I can prove but one thing more, viz. that no City within the compasse of these three Kingdoms, is fit to succeed *London* in its primacy, or able to head three Nations so honourably and profitably, as it hath done, I shall then have demonstrated that *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, are all three highly concerned in the Restauration of *London*.

That three such Nations (the form of whose Government is Monarchical) have some one head (head City I mean) over and above all the rest, is but suitable and necessary, neither can it be less evident, that it is of great importance, that whatsoever place or City be their Head, should be the best and fittest of all others for that purpose. Now that *London* is so, I appeal to the incomparable commodiousness of its scituation, (well known to all men) and the advantage which in that respect it hath

hath above any other place in the three Nations. By this was it so manifestly designed (as it were from heaven) for Primacy and Metropolitanship, that I know no Town or City that was ever Competitor with it in that behalf, or did ever pretend to be what it is, viz. chief, whilst *London* its self was in being: Now what but the indisputably supereminent fittest of *London* to be the Metropolis of *England* (and the United Kingdoms) could have prevented all Usurpations, Pretensions, and Competitions, even from those places, which had themselves worn the Crown of Dignity whilst, and so long as *London* was (as several times it hath been, and now partly is) in the dust.

And now have I undeniably proved (if I mistake not) that these three Nations are highly concerned in the Restauration of *London*.

But now the question will be, whether all the Protestant part of the world be so likewise (as hath been affirmed) tell me then whether *England* (when it is its self) be not able to yield a countenance and protection to Protestants all the world over, to be a kind of covering upon all their glory? If I am not deceived it hath done so, (particularly in the daies of *Queen Elizabeth*) and may do so again. As is the House of *Austria* to the Papists, viz. their great prop and pillar, so *England* hath been, is, or may be, to the Protestants.

If then the strength and bulwark of Protestants be *England*, and that the strength of *England* (as hath been proved) be *London*, we may easily conclude by that sure Maxim, *Causa causa est causa causati*; that *London* is (or may be) the great bulwark and fortresse of the Protestant Interest; and consequently, that the whole Protestant World is concerned in the being and well-being of *London*. This

the great Zealots for Popery have known, and do know too well, who in order to the Propagation of that Religion, have thought, and do think nothing more requisite, than that the City of *London* should be laid in ashes, and continued there. *England* being so mighty in shipping as it is (at leastwise hath been, or may be) may be serviceable to them that profess the same Religion with its self, not only near at hand, but at the greatest distance; and will be so, if ever God shall cause the zeal, and the prosperity of it, both to revive together. Let me add, that if *London* flourish, *England* cannot likely do much amiss, and the most zealous part of the world (as for the Protestant Religion) will then prosper, to the advantage of all others who make the same profession.

What is it then, that not only *England*, but *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and not those Kingdoms only, but any part of Christendome (called Protestant) can do, or contribute towards the rebuilding of *London*? whatsoever it be, their own interest doth call upon them to do it with all their might: If *London* rise not, they are like to fall after it. Shall we not hear of the kindneses of *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, much more of all *England*, and of *Scotland* and *Ireland* (if they be able to do any thing) towards poor desolate *London*? let them be good to themselves in being good to it, its interest is their own: Help *London* now, you know not how soon you may need its help, and find it both a cheerful and considerable helper, in a time of need.

DISCOURSE XIV.

That the Protestant Religion, and the principles thereof, may contribute as much towards the building of Churches and Hospitals, &c. as ever Popery hath formerly done.

HOW many places are demolished by the Fire; such (as Churches and Hospitals) which must be rebuilt (if ever) upon the accompt of Piety, and Charity? But where is that Piety and Charity to be found? Methinks I hear the Papists vaunting themselves against Protestants, extolling their Superstition above our true Religion, and their Doctrine of Lies above the truth of ours, telling us, that they built most of those Churches and Hospitals which are now burnt down, and must do it again, if ever it be done; as *Peninnah* (when time was) did upbraid *Hannah*, *Sam. i. i.* with her barrenness, so do they the principles of the Protestant Religion, as if they could bring forth no good works.

As for their building those houses again, there may be more reason for that than I shall presume to give, but that (if it must be our work) our Religion will not as strongly invite us to do it as theirs would, (if they might build them for themselves) that I utterly deny.

True it is, if God stood in need that men should lie for him, none were fitter to do him service than they, whose Religion is full of lies and Legends, but that he doth not; but of such as say (or report the Apostles of Christ to say) *Let us do evil that good may come of it*, the Scripture saith, *their damnation is just*, *Rom. 3. 8.*

We know full well their great Incentives to Charity, and what fallhoods they are telling the people, that they must be saved by their good works, (that is) by the merit of them; that Christ hath merited to make their works meritorious, talking much of *operatiōes*, works died in the bloud of Christ, how meritorious they are: (whereas theirs are rather died in the bloud of Christians, and of holy Martyrs) how men by their good deeds may satisfie the Justice of God for their evil ones, and expiate their sins; how by eminent acts of Charity they may hereafter deliver themselves and others out of Purgatory, with many more such cunningly devised fables, wherewith they pick mens pockets.

We know there is truth enough in the world, or rather in the Word of God, to make men as charitable and free (in that sense) as it is fit they should be. We distrust not the efficacy of Divine Truths, as they do, nor think them Nouns Adjective that cannot stand without our lies, as if they were so many Substantives added to them: We therefore tell men (as the truth is) that *by the works of the Law no flesh shall be justified*, Gal. 2. 16. but withall we tell them, that good works (are *causa sine quâ non*) or things without which there is no salvation, for *faith without works is dead*, as a body without a soul, and that there can be no love to God, where there is no charity towards men, 1 John 3. 17. *Who so hath this worlds good, and seeth his Brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how should he love God whom he hath not seen?* 1 John 4. 20. Therefore such as have wherewithall to shew mercy, and to do good, cannot be saved, say we; and this principle well con-

considered, were enough to make men charitable if we could add no more.

But then we say further, that no one good work or deed of charity (that is truly such) shall go without a reward, quoting and urging *Mat. 10. 42.* (with other Texts of like import) *Whosoever shall give a cup of cold water only to one in the name of a Disciple, verily he shall not loose his reward.*

Nay more than so, we tell men that the reward of charity, and of good works, (truly so called) is no lesse than Eternal Life, (though not of merit, but of grace.) We charge them that are rich in this world, (as Paul bid Timothy to do) that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life, *1 Tim. 6. 18, 19.* We mind men of our Saviours words, *Luk. 12. 33.* Give almes, provide your selves bags that wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth. We say unto men as Christ said, *Luke 16. 9.* Make to your selves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations. We promise Heaven (in Gods Name) to those that are truly charitable, and is it not worth accepting, unlesse God will own it, or we our selves can think it, to be of debt, and not of grace?

We deny that the infinite Justice of God, will or can receive satisfaction, or reparation, for the evil deeds which men have done, by the good deeds they may or shall do afterwards, (as by their works of charity, for former acts of injustice) for that satisfaction can be made only by the undertaking of our Saviour, who bore our sins in his body upon the Crosse, and who is held forth to be a propi-

tiation for us through faith in his blood, *Rom. 3.* But withall we say, that *Zachens* having been an oppressing Publican, did well (and set others a good example) when he gave half his goods to the poor, *Luke 19.* (which surely he did upon that consideration) and that it was good counsel which *Daniel* gave to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan. 4. 27.* Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; the meaning whereof may be, that he should cease from unrighteousnesse and cruelty, for time to come, and practise the contrary with all his might, viz. Justice and Mercy; yea, we stick not to quote that passage of *Solomon*, *Prov. 16. 6.* By mercy and truth iniquity is purged; which may be construed thus, where mercy is, iniquity is purged, that is, it is a sign of the remission of sins (as was *Mary's* love to Christ) or that God of his free mercy (not of their merit) pardoneth those who abound with mercy; as he hath said, that *with the merciful he will shew himself merciful*; and with the garment of his undeserved grace, God covereth a multitude of their infirmities who are such, *1 Pet. 4. 8.* We say, that more of bounty and charity towards men, than would otherwise have been required of us, is necessary, and a duty, in case we have been injurious or uncharitable to others formerly; for if so, we are in arrears both of Justice and Mercy, which, as to men, (if we be able to pay) can no otherwise be satisfied, nor can remission be obtained without such a restitution.

As for the fire of Purgatory, wherewith Popish Priests do melt down the gold and silver of ignorant people into their own Coffers, we know it is but a device to keep their own Kitchens warm; nor can any man give a reason why the charity of men

men should be less inflamed by this real fire of Hell, made to flash in the faces of all that do, and shall remain unmerciful and uncharitable, than by the feigned fire of Purgatory: Why should not, yea, will not men part with as much to keep themselves out of Hell (when made sensible how damning a sin covetousness is) as to get themselves out of Purgatory, sooner than otherwise they would expect?

To him that considers these things, it will be plain and evident, that those Principles which all good Protestants do own, and insist upon, have as great an aptness and powerfulness in their own nature to awaken and excite man to works of charity, as any that Papists do, or can insist upon: Neither ought it to be forgotten, that all the fore-mentioned Principles of Protestants are real and Scriptural, and being such, must needs be of greater force, and authority, than those grosse Falthoods, vain Dreams, and Bugbears, wherewith Popish Impostors delude their people.

But here it may be a Papist would reply to us: How comes it to pass if the Principles wherewith you Protestants endeavour to excite men to works of Charity, be in themselves as forcible as those we goupon; that we, in that case do prevail more than you? That by our instigations people are ready to give all their goods to the poor, and to say to their very Parents, *It is Corban, or a Gift (to the Church) by whatsoever thou mayest be prised*, whereas you Protestants have much ado many times to extort even from dying people (though rich) some few pounds or shillings to any good uses?

I wish I could say that the matter of fact herein objected were true *pudet hac, &c.* but too true it is, and the reasons of it (or some of them) are as follow:

First, Some Protestant Ministers whilst they are zealous in Preaching the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (so much opposed by Papists) are, and have been too remiss in pressing good works, according to the tenor of their own Principles: And thus whilst the Papists bend themselves against our Faith, they make us neglect good works: Such Ministers should be put in mind of what St. *Paul* writeth to *Titus*, chap. 3. 8. *These things I will that you affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works: these things are good and profitable to men.*

Secondly, Protestant Preachers, (if I mistake not) do generally harp less upon the duty of bounty and charity, in particular (towards the Church especially) than Popish Priests do, who do some of them it may be, preach little else, at leastwise, that is the most they presse, because the most profitable of all subjects (though not to their hearers) (upon whom other duties are sometimes as necessary to be pressed) yet to themselves. Now Protestant Ministers being too much afraid of being so much as suspected of seeking themselves, do, I fear, under-do, as to pressing works of charity, whilst Popish Priests are guilty of over-doing, being like the *Horseleech* or *Grave*, which are never satisfied, but still do cry, *Give, give.*

Again, Papists will venture to Promise more upon the bare *opus operatum* or meere act of giving, to such and such good uses (to be bound as it were body, for body, and soul, for soul, that they that give so much to good uses shall be saved) I mean (to warrant and ensure their Salvation) than Protestant Ministers dare to do, who knew that the end of the *Commandement* (the fulfilling of which end is required in a saving charity) is *charity out of*

a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; and that a man may give all his goods to the poor, and yet want that true charity without which (the Apostle saith) he is but as sounding Brasse, or tinkling Cymball.

Moreover the Popes of Rome, successively, use to dispense pardons for the greatest sins, and such as were never repented of, for so much money, as a late Book called the *Protestant Almanack* (one that will never be out of date) makes out by multitudes of Instances. This practice of theirs is one of the names of *Blasphemy* written in their foreheads, and by such means as these they go beyond us.

But the mony which is given upon the two last accounts, is certainly the result and product not of real bounty, but of woful blindness and ignorance. That which is such a kind of cheat in the receivers, can hardly be called charity in the givers.

Then may we draw to this conclusion, Papists have waies to cheat men of their mony which Protestants have not (yet scorn to use) but Papists have no Arguments, truly deduced, either from Scripture, or sound reason, wherewith to invite men to works of charity, that Protestants have not, and they alone well used and managed are and will be sufficient.

If Papists will take upon them to be wiser than God, and to teach him (who is only wise) how to furnish the World with better motives to charity, and good works, than ever yet he hath done, so will not Protestants: It were better London should continue in ashes, than have its foundation laid in such Blasphemous Impostures: but that it need not do neither, for want of Scriptural Arguments, mighty (through God) to pull down the
strong

strong holds of mens unmercifulness, and to bring into captivity every thought which exalteth it self against obedience thereunto.

We that are Protestants can tell men, according to our Principles, that the least work of true charity shall have a great reward, that the reward of persons truly charitable, shall be no less than eternal life, that every such work shall follow good men when they dye, and add to the weight of their Crown of Glory: We can tell rich men, that if they will not make to themselves friends of the unrighteous *Mammon*, they shall not be received into everlasting habitations (of glory) that if they shut up their bowels against poor *Lazaruses*, they shall fare no better than *Dives* did, who denied his crumbs of bread, and was himself denied a drop of water: We can freely tell every man that it is as possible for him to get to Heaven without faith, as without charity; and as impossible for him to be saved without charity, as without faith. Then I appeal to every mans reason, whether it be not an act of charity, and piety, to help up with this poor City, and particularly with the Hospitals and Churches thereto belonging. Though our Religion be by Papists reproached, as *Hannah* was by *Peninnah* with barrenness, namely in reference to good works, it may hereafter come (and I hope it will) to sing as *Hannah* did, in 1 Sam. 2. 5. *The barren hath born seven, and she that hath many Children is waxed feeble.*

DISCOURSE XV.

Upon the looks, and prospect of London, whilst but some few houses are built, here and there, and others but building in the midst of many ruinous heaps.

O London what is thy present hue? how many other things art thou like unto at this day? but how unlike thy self? unlike what thou wert, yea unlike what thou art, if we compare one part with another *Mulier formosa supernè definit in piscem* what a motley, linsley, woolley, exchequered thing art thou at this day?

One while methinks thou lookest like a forrest in which are some tall trees, some shrubs; some meer stumps elsewhere, all pluckt up by the roots: or may I not liken thee to an old orchard, in which are some trees that have ripe fruit upon them, other have but buds, others but meer blossoms, but the greater part are dead, and withered? nor dost thou less resemble a great common field in which some early corn, is at full growth, elsewhere that which was latter sown, hath yet but peept out of the ground, and very many acres up and down lie quite fallow. We read of the *waters of the sanctuary*, how that some of them were but to the ancles, others to the knees, others up to the loins, *Ezek. 47. 4.* That it may be was successively, but this all at once. Thus in a family where are many children, ordinarily, there are some at the estate of men and women, some boyes and girles, some infants, and some (one or more) that are yet but in the mothers womb.

Is London a village that I see the houses in it stand

so scatteringly, and at so great a distance one from another? scarce enough together to make that number which is said to make a conventicle. I. Having been degraded for a while, must it commence a village before it commence a City? As in a throughfare village, standing upon a great road, most houses are Inns, or Alehouses to entertain strangers, so may we observe that the major part of houses built upon the ruines; are let out to Alehouse-keepers and Victuallers to entertain workmen employed about the City.

How easily doth the present condition of *London* bring *France* to mind, where a middle sort of people are scarce to be found, but all are said to be either Princes, (as it were) or Peasants, Gentlemen, or slaves. Our stately-houses may serve for an emblem of the former, our ruinous heaps of the latter; or one may represent the flourishing papists in that Country, and the other the oppressed *Hugonites*, they and their Churches, lying together in ashes.

Would I give scope to phantasy I could adde that *London* now looks like *Euclids* Elements, or some such books, in which are all sorts of schemes and figures, as straight lines, crooked lines, triangles, quadrangles, hexangles, and what not? or like a book of Anatomy, full of cuts representing in one page the shape of a head, in another of an arm, in a third of a leg, &c. So in one place there is as it were the head, or beginning of a street, in another place the feet (or end thereof) by its self, elsewhere the arm, or breast, or belly of a street, (the middle I mean) standing all alone.

A goodly uniformity there is in so much of it as is built together, but ruines and confusion round about it, which represents it like a beautiful face stuck

stuck with black patches, which is very lovely, so far as it is seen, but all the rest is ugliness, and deformity, manifest pride, and concealed beauty.

Neither is *London* at this day unlike the month of *April* (in which I am writing this) consisting of quick vicissitudes of rain, and sunshine, one part of the Heavens smiling, another frowning and lowering. So one part of the street smiles upon us (almost throughout the ruins) but the rest of it frowneth, and looks ghastly. If we compare it to one that is rising out of his sepulchre; it must be to one that hath his grave cloaths about him, for so hath *London*.)

But when all is said *London* at this day represents nothing more then our own divisions, together with the ill effects and consequences thereof.

For first of all, is it not unquoth, and dolesome, to live in houses that stand at such a distance one from another? (Some of them like a cottage in a garden of cucumbers) How much more pleasant was it, and would it be again, to be surrounded with neighbours on every side: To such an unquoth, solitary and unpleasant condition have our divisions brought us. Methinks the depth and dead of winter, when the nights are tedious long, the weather raw and cold, the wayes wet and dirty; and almost impassable, when the trees are bald and bare, both of fruit and leaves, and when the earth hath put off all its ornaments, and is as it were in its night dress, or morning weeds, doth not more fall short of that pleasurableness and delightfulness that is in a delicate spring, or gallant summer, when the earth is full of all that may gratifie both our sight, sent and palate: when deckt like a bride, when crowned with the goodness of God, than a time of divisions, and dissentions, doth in point of comfortableness,

ableness, fall short of these times in which Christians and fellow Cittizens have been all (or generally) of one heart, if not of our mind, *Ps. 133. 1. Behold how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity?* The divisions of *England* now (as they of *Reuben* in former time) do they not cause sad thoughts of heart?

That houses in *London* stand so scatteringly, as now they do, is (if I be not mistaken) not more unpleasant, than unsafe. By this their single station they are more obnoxious to the impressions of wind and weather; which now have opportunity to play on every side of them, which when guarded (as formerly) by houses, on one, or both sides, and possibly behind also, could not be done: not to conceal the other part of their danger: many of those lone houses seem to lye at the mercy of thieves, and robbers, whose mercies are known to be cruelties) and I doubt not but many in that regard are afraid to dwell in the houses, which themselves have built, till others shall come to dwell by them.

So insecure do our divisions render us, and the distance at which we keep, one from another, whilst it is so with us, we may much more easily be carried about with every wind of doctrine, and by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lye in wait to deceive. Scattered ships are much more easily taken by Pirats, or enemies, than is a whole fleet that rides together; and a small family (or a piece of one) is sooner rob'd, than a family that is intire, great and numerous; *Divide & impera*, divide them and rule them, was an old maxime, divided we are, and now our enemies hope to rule over us. Our religion is our great treasure, and doubtless there are thieves that hope to break in, and steal it from us, now they see us dwell alone (as it were)

I mean in reference to our dissensions.

Neither is it more unquoth and unsafe, than it is unprofitable, for Citizens to dwell by themselves, or only two or three, or some few more families, in one and the same street: Few expect to have any considerable Trade within the Walls (so far as the Ruines did extend) till the City be built again, either all, or most of it; and therefore though they have built houses for themselves, in those parts of London which were, and will be most considerable, as *Cheapside*, &c. yet do they refrain to go to them, till their Neighbourhood be encreased, and others, to a considerable number, have built near them, as expecting but few Customers, and small dealings, till that be done.

So fatal have our divisions, and the distance at which we have stood one from another; I say so fatal have they been to us in point of Trade and profit, as the remotenesse and scattering of houses, one from another, would probably be to those that should attempt a Trade in houses so remote and scattered. Divisions, and decay of Trade began together, and have proceeded together; as divisions grew greater, trading hath grown lesse; as more backwardnesse hath appeared, as unto uniting Protestants one with another, they say a sensible damp hath come upon Trade, not unlike those damps which arise in Cole-pits, which put out their lights, and sometimes stifle the workmen. And on the other hand, any hope given us, as if our breaches should be healed, and our differences com-primi-sed, hath been to Trade as a sudden resurrection from the dead, as if peace and union, concord and quietnesse, one with another, were the Sun, Trade, and Traffique, the *Heliotrope*, or Mary-gold, which did open and shut, according as that Sun did either rise,

rise or set, shine or forbear to shine upon it: That saying of *Solomon* is but too applicable to trade and commerce, as well as in other cases: *How can two walk together unless they be agreed?* at leastwise so far agreed they must be, as not to molest, and disturb, each other.

It is methinks an ill prospect, and a gasty sight, for those that look from the Belconies, or tops of their stately new houses, to see ashes, and ruinous heaps on every side of them, to see ten private houses (besides Churches and publick Halls) in the dust, for one that is raised again. This might be a pleasing spectacle to a person of an *evil eye*, that is, to one that were full of envy (for such people will be miserable if others be happy) and count it a happiness to themselves to see others miserable:) But he that hath put on *Bowels as the elck of God*, and knows how to *mourn with them that mourn*, will but half enjoy his own house (how goodly soever) whilst so many of his neighbours lie waste about it.

Have not our Divisions brought *England* into the same case with *London*, and made us like-City, like-Nation? Though here, and there, a Family hath wealth enough and to spare (whom I may compare to the fine houses which are built here, and there one, upon the ruins of *London*) yea though some have fished notably in troubled waters, and made all the rivers which ran in several channels to pay tribute to their Sea, I mean enriched themselves by the help and advantage of other mens divisions, and dissatisfactions, yet it is far otherwise with the greater part of the Nation, the generallity of which are brought to a morsel of bread (I mean to great and deplorable poverty) Landlords not able to live without their rents, tenants not able to pay them, tradesmen

tradesmen not able to subsist by their callings, many left without callings to subsist by, and all these latter sorts of men are pourtrayed to the life in and by those houses, (and those the major part) which do yet lye in dust and ashes; they by reason of the late material fire, but the former by reason of a more immaterial fire, viz. of Strife and Contention not extinguished to this day.

We have not yet done with comparing the present case of *London* for want of more things to compare it to: We might farther liken it to the first World, when but a day or two, of Creation-work had passed upon it. It was then no perfect *Chaos*, neither was it a perfect World. Or I might liken it to the first appearance of a second World, after the first was drowned. Is not *London* such a thing as that was, where some high trees, and high mountains began to shew themselves, here and there; but all the rest continued under water? So gradually and leisurely, doth our City rise.

But such shall not be the resurrection of the Just, for they shall not rise one by one but (*semel & simul*) all together, *1 Cor. 15. 52. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye at the last trump, the dead shall be raised, and we shall be changed. We which are alive and remain to the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep, we which are alive shall be caught up together with them in the clouds. 1 Thes. 4. 15, 17.*

And now methinks I have done by *London*, as people use to do by young children, whose looks are yet come to no settledness, or consistence. Some cry they are like the Fathers; others, that they are like the Mother; others again that they are like this or that kinsman, or kinswoman. I have likened it to very many things, and surely it hath some resemblance of every of them. But when shall we see

it like its self again ? or every where, like what it now is, so far as it is now its self ? Here, and there, something is hatcht : but for the most part, *London* is but as an Egge, that we hope may be hatcht in time. It looks much worse than it did before the fire, but yet much better than it did presently after the fire : so that it gives us occasion to *sing both of Judgment and mercy.*

Seeing so mixt a face of *London*, as now I do, some little part thereof so lovely as it is ; the rest so lamentable ; I can do no less than pursue it with my most earnest prayers, that as the corrupted bodies of believers, shall one day be conformed to their incorruptible Souls, and not their immortal Souls ever made like to their mortal bodies, and as the Church militant shall hereafter be made glorious, as that which is now Triumphant, but the Triumphant Church never conformed in sufferings to that which is militant ; so the ruinous part of *London*, may in Gods good time, become such as that which is now most beautiful ; but the beautiful beginnings thereof (in spite of all that wish it) may never become ruinous.

DISCOURSE XVI.

That uniting, or at leastwise quieting the minds of men, as to matter of Religion (so far as it can be done) would much conduce to the rebuilding of the City.

I Am not of their mind, that think it an impossible thing, to give the generality of men (that are any wayes considerable) some reasonable satisfaction, and contentment in point of Religion. It may be difficult, but surely it is feasible. If it hath
been

been, and is done elsewhere, why not amongst us ?

That the World may see I do not drive at *Anarchy* in Religion, the first principle I would here suggest, is, That it cannot reasonably be expected from Rulers and Governors, to give equal countenance and incouragement to all sorts of Religion within their respective Dominions, *viz.* to the Christian, Jewish, and Mahumetan Religion. We would not that the Supream Magistrate should appear like a Sceptick, as if he were inclined to all Religions, but ingaged in none : Much less would we, that the Laws of a Nation should have a Religion to choose, and should respect all alike, that is, either afford no countenance, and maintenance, (or more than connivance) to any, or the same to all.

If the Christian Magistrate do think some Religions damnable, as the Jewish, Mahumetan, and the like, no reason he should provide a maintenance for them, or for the Teachers of them, as of that Religion, in, and by which he believeth men may be saved.

Private men are not willing, to communicate their substance to the Teachers and leaders of a Religion Fundamentally different from their own. What Protestant would voluntarily contribute to the maintenance of Popish Priests, as such? any more than to the making of a golden Calf? why then should any such thing be expected from Protestant Magistrates?

It is more it may be than Rulers can do, without impoverishing a Nation, to provide a sufficient maintenance for the Ring-leaders of all parties and perswasions, and therefore upon that accompt (though upon many others also) must let fundamental dissenters shift for themselves. Howsoever, to give the same encouragement to good and evil, truth

and falshood, (I mean to what is fundamentally such, in the account of those by whom Laws are made, and publick affairs administred) is, or seemeth to be as irrational a thing, as for a Father to intrust a Prodigal child with as great an estate as the rest of his children that are good husbands; or one that is a fool, or mad man, as those that have wit to manage it, or as it is to reward vice at the rate of vertue.

The Principle I have laid down bespeaketh no *Anarchy* or confusion in Religion, because it aimeth at some one Religion to be prefer'd above all the rest, viz. that which the Legislators of a Nation shall think fit to establish, own, and countenance, as the publick, authorized Profession of this or that Nation, which being so established, is not alterable at the sole and single will and pleasure of the Prince, (to be sure in *England*) as having not power in, and of himself to repeal such Laws as are made (whatsoever Religion or perswasion himself be of;) which objections being removed out of the way, I see no reason why any body should be offended (and I think upon the reasons aforesaid, very few will) if the Law of a Nation, and Magistrates, whose work it is to put those Laws in execution, do afford that countenance and maintenance to one sort of Religion, and to the leaders thereof, which they afford not to any other that is fundamentally opposite thereunto; as is the Jewish or Mahumetan to the Christian; and the Popish, in some things, to the Protestant.

One or two objections more, which are all I can imagine, may be raised against this first principle, will be answered by and by; And therefore I proceed to a second, viz. That the Religion of a Nation need not, ought not, yea indeed cannot, *consistere in puncto, but intra aliquam latitudinem.* It must needs

needs be like a circle with several lines drawn within, all which, though they meet and touch in one and the same centre, yet are somewhat distant each from other, in the circumference : What I affirmed last, I shall prove first, *Viz.* That Religion cannot be made to consist in a point, that is, that all persons who are truly of one, and the same Religion, can never come to agree in every *punctilio* : For as the Apostle saith, *Rom. 14. 2.* *One believeth that he may eat all things, another who is weak, eateth Herbs,* and verse 5, *one man esteemeth one day above another, another man esteemeth every day alike ; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* He that converseth with men, about such matters as can admit of any dispute, will find it daily, and hourly verified, that all men cannot *idem sentire*, that is, have the same sentiments, and apprehensions, as to such things, but *so many men, so many minds*, proves too true a Proverb.

Thence I infer in the next place, that Religion ought not *consistere in puncto*, that is, men ought not to make, or pretend as if it did, or to insist upon it that it should do so, or to use force and violence to bring it to that pass, it being a fruitless attempt so to do : Peradventure men may *idem mentiri* that is, counterfeit, and make show as if they were all of a mind, when it is their worldly interest so to do, but then must they use many distinctions, reservations, equivocations, &c. wherewith to salve themselves and their pretended unanimity : for *idem sentire* in matters doubtful, all men never can, no more than every mans Palate can be pleased a like with all sorts of Meat and Sauces. Now that which puts men upon shifts, evasions, illusions, equivocations, and such *Ananias* and *Saphirah*-like tricks, which rewardeth

men for the same, and punisheth others that cannot do the like, that I say ought not to be, and therefore Religion should not be handled as if it did consist in an indivisible point, as if every thing were fundamental, that is but circumstantial; or certain, that is but probable; or fit to be impos'd, or inforc'd, which is but fit to be recommended.

When I plead for some latitude to be allowed in matter of Religion, I go upon this supposition, that it is not amiss for a Christian Church to declare its opinion in some points of Religion, that are not absolutely certain, and to give its advice in some matters of practice that are not absolutely necessary (at least-wise to salvation) and that all Churches use to do so, and such advice of a Church, and declaration of its opinion, is commonly reckon'd as part of the Religion which it professeth. Now taking the Religion of a Church, in that large and vulgar sense, as well for what it opineth, or doth but give its opinion, and advice in, as for what it determineth, and is peremptory in; I say, in reference to the former of these (though not to the latter) some latitude ought to be given, to modest dissenters, either in Opinion or Practice: and that for the reasons aforesaid; *St. Paul having received no Commandement from the Lord concerning Virgins, their marrying, or not marrying, only gave his judgement, that it was better at that time, not to marry, 1 Cor. 7. 25. and then left them to their liberty, verse 28. But if a Virgin marry, she hath not sinned; From which example of his, may be inferred, that where the mind of God is not clearly revealed, or there is no manifest Command, or Prohibition in the case, it is good to advise men the best we can, and then leave them to their Liberty.*

By what I have said already may be understood, what I mean by the encouraging, and countenancing of but one Religion in a Nation, so as by publick owning and professing of it, and by the Magistrates providing a maintenance for the Professors and Teachers of it, *viz.* that no more Religions should expect to be maintained, and upheld by the Laws of one and the same Nation, at a publick charge, than those which are radically and fundamentally, one, and the same; but it is far from me to assert or think, that only one branch, of that Religion which hath the same root, should be watered by the kindnesse, and bounty of the Magistrate, whereas, surely every branch of the same tree, that beareth any fruit, ought to be so; as a Father ought to provide for all the Children that spring from his own loins, and do behave themselves any thing towardly, and not only for so many of them as are of such a complexion, and of such a stature. What are persons whose Religion agreeth in Fundamentals of Doctrine, and Practice, but Children of the same Father, and of the same Mother? and such as ought not to be excluded by some few, that appropriate the Name of Sons to themselves, as if they only were such.

I make account the true Protestant Religion is but one, in, and amongst all the Professors of it, though they that are such, be some of them *Calvinists*, others *Lutherans*, &c. (as the Children of one and the same Father, have several Names) or as the several arms of the Sea though diversly called, (are but one and the same Ocean.) That one Religion for the substance of it is common to all the true Professors of it, as one and the same soul is common to all the parts of that body, which it belongs to, though of different shapes and figures, or as

the Apostle saith, *There are diversities of gifts, but one and the same Spirit, who worketh all and in all.* When then I plead the reasonableness of one Religion, and but one to have more than the connivance of Authority (*viz.* publick countenance and maintenance) I mean the whole body of that Religion (or rather of the Professors and Teachers of it) if by dishonest, unsober, and unpeaceable carriage (not by some variety in opinion, and modest practice) they do not cut themselves off. All this doth well suit with the notion which I have contended for, *viz.* of a latitude within one and the same Religion, which I have proved cannot but be taken, and moreover that it ought to be given.

And now I have one thing more to say, concerning such a latitude as I have pleaded for, in order to contenting the minds of men in point of Religion (which is the design of this chapter) I say, I have this to prove, that the vouchsafement of some latitude in Religion, both as to Opinion and Practice, needs not to be feared. They that dread it, are worse scar'd than hurt: If some latitude indulged would destroy a Church, or Kingdom, few of either had been left in the World; for some such thing is almost every where admitted, and allowed of, at leastwise connived at, and tollerated, even in the *Romish* Church, which doth of all others most glory in its being at unity with it self: Witness the Names of Distinction, and Opposition, which are found in that Church; Witness their writing, disputing, and practicing, one contrary to another, the two former of which are more than I plead for.

The danger lyeth not in Dissents, but in *Dissensions*, now the former may be without the latter: They that are of two minds may love one another
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far better (and oft times do) than they that are of one. Two humble, and well tempered men, of different Judgments, shall be dearer to one another, and have lesler strife than two proud men that are of the same. It doth not follow, that because men are not of the same opinion they must wrangle, nor yet because they are, that they will otherwise agree.

Some that cannot comply with all and every the opinions, and practises of a Church in matters preterfundamental, may yet be better sons to that Church in point of duty, honour and service, than hundreds are, who either do, or seem, in all things to believe as the Church believeth. *Mr. Chillingworth* (if I mistake not) was a Son that the Church of England seemeth to be as proud of, as of most that ever she bore, and yet we know he was no eccho to the Church, that could say all its words after it, he could subscribe the Articles of the Church in no other sense, than that they did contain in them what was sufficient for the salvation of them that did believe and practise accordingly (which might consist with their being interwoven with several mistakes and errors, as a mans eating a hearty meal, though it presuppose there is enough at the table, of that which he well liketh, may consist with many other dishes being there, that he doth not care for.) How many that could universally assent to the Church; have been a heaviness to that their mother, and a shame to her, whilest he that could go no farther than I have said, who could not say *credo ecclesia*, but *in ecclesia* was and is, a praise and a renown.

We can have but mens words for it, that they are of our mind, or of the same opinion with the Church, and some mens words are but wind, and
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give us no assurance that what they say is true, or admit it be, how great a change in the minds of weak and unstable men, may a day or two produce, some of which are generally of that mans mind, whom they last discoursed with, and carried about with every wind.

As for some latitude, and variety in practise, it was a thing the Apostle *Paul* seemeth not to have been troubled at, nor willing that others should be much concerned about it. *One esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth all daies alike, one believeth that he may eat all things; another being weak eateth herbs.* The thing that perplexed him, was not that they did not do all alike, but that they did despise, and judg one another for not doing the same thing. Different practise, in circumstantial matters, cannot make so great a discrepancy betwixt one Church and another, and the ordinances therein administred, as variety, and diversity of gifts doth: and needs must make, whilst the gift of one Minister lieth in explication, of another in application: one is a *Boanerges*, the other a *Barnabas*, one hath a lofty stile like *Isaiab*, the other as plain as *Amos*, in one mans preaching an Elephant may swim, but in another mans a Lamb may wade. Is the use of gifts given by God for the edification of the Church to be suppressed, because gifts are so various and unlike one another? Is there not harmony even in that discord? what great deformity, or disorder can there then be, in that smaller discrepancy, which ariseth from the meer varying of circumstances, such as habits, postures, gestures, in which yet I would have no man to affect singularity, and to differ from others, no more than to suffer for that dissonancy to others, which he cannot help, his conscience being such as
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it is. Did ever man complain that the motion of the Sun was irregular, and ill-favoured, because a certain latitude is allowed him within his ecliptick line? which he makes use of, one while Northward, another while toward the South: nay is it not for the good of the world it should be so?

To return once more to a latitude as to opinions, about such points of Religion as are not fundamental, I could plead for the allowance, or permission of it by saying. First, That much of that which is called controversy is meer λογομαχία, or strife about words, we thinking others, and they us again, to be far more dissonant than indeed we are, our meanings being like the tops of some mountains in *Wales*, which do or seem even to touch one another, but our words like the bottomes of those mountains, which are many miles asunder. Men oft-times do neither contradict us, nor prejudice themselves, so much by their different opinions, as we take them to do, because they seem to differ from us, and from the truth more than they do.

Secondly, By some liberty of disputing, as by knocking of two flints together, some sparks of light are brought out, and men are more confirmed in the truth, *nihil est tam certum quam quod ex dubio certum*. Thus trees by being shaken may take deeper root.

Thirdly, to be in heart a dissenter from a Church in some lesse certain Opinions, if men be such only in heart, can no ways redound to the prejudice of Church or State, nor be so much as a grief to either, if they please not to enquire into it; for as our Proverb saith, *What the eye seeth not, the heart rues not*.

Fourthly, dissenters as to preterfundamental Opinions, whilst they speak not Polemical, but practical

etical language, (which is easie for them to do) can scarce be known to dissent, but when men expresse controverted matters in School terms, (known terms of war and defiance) they do as it were beat up an alarm to those of the contrary perswasion, and send them a challenge, and bring the enemy about their ears: Prudent men by observing that rule, though they dissent, yet can forbear to offend, and consequently need not to be rejected for their inoffensive dissents.

Fifthly, Those that differ as to certain axiomes and principles, may draw the same conclusions from both, at leastwise aim at the same mark, yea, and hit it: They that disagree in their speculative part, may yet agree in the practick. So it is observed, that *Calvinists* and *Arminians* differ but little in the applicative part of their Sermons: so have we seen Bowlers, some play their byasses up, others down, at the same Mistress, and both it may be have come near it. The notional part of Physick is much altered from what it was, yet men cure diseases as they had wont to do; and that change which is made in the Theory of Physick, makes little in the practice.

Lastly, God would that there should be some latitude allowed, both as to opinion and practise, within the Verge and compass of the true Religion (which is every where radically and fundamentally the same) as we may easily gather; first from hence, that God hath left many smaller things in Religion *adiaphorons*, that is indifferent, and undetermined, as it intended on purpose for to be the Sphere of Christian Liberty, within the compass of which men might act, or not act, do the same things, or differ one from another, and both without sin. Of this there are many instances in Scripture, as *Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 7. &c.* Again,

Again, God hath left several other things in the Scripture dark and doubtful, admitting of *doubtful disputations*, as the phrase is, *Rom. 14.* as to which the Church it self can give no other satisfaction than its probable conjectures will afford, to which a reverence is due, yet not so great, as to receive those probable & conjectural interpretations of the Church (which may possibly be weakned by probabilities on the other hand) as if they were matters of Faith, or as evident as are the Articles of our Creed, all but that one so ambiguously worded; *viz.* about Christ his discent into hell; not that the thing intended by that Article, as Doctor *Pierſon* and others expound it, is doubtful, but the manner of expressing it, putting the word Hell for *adms*, and *Sheol*, which may signifie the grave, and the estate of death. But that by the way.

If the God of Truth and Unity could have brooked no latitude in the Opinions and practises of those men that hold the same foundation of Christian Religion, surely he would have left nothing indifferent, but have given order concerning every pin belonging to his Church under the New Testament, as well as to his Tabernacle under the Old; neither would he have left so many things doubtful and disputable, as are manifestly left in that condition.

This seemeth to have been done as in order to giving men something of liberty, (a thing so sweet and pleasant) as is a fine Garden behind a close house; so likewise (and that principally) to exercise the charity and humility of men, that the weak should learn not to judge the strong, and the strong not to despise the weak, and both of them to love the Image of God in one another, whilst they see in each but little of their own, that is of the image
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of some of their own perswasions and practises;

And now I have spoken so much for latitude, that some it may be will think I am a *Latitudinarian* in the vulgar sense of the word, but I think they are mistaken.

Alas that I am got over but two Principles, relating to the compofure of the minds of men about Religion, I say but two principles all this while, viz. first, that it is unreasonable for the Professors of two, or more Religions, fundamentally opposite each to other, to expect equal countenance and incouragement from the Laws of one and the same Nation, *Ex.gr.* for Papists to expect that where the Laws of the Land are in favour of the Protestant Religion, they should be as much in favour of the *Roman Catholique* (as they non-sensically call it) and therefore that Religion which is fundamentally opposite to what the Law of a Nation hath established, ought not (at least by violence) to struggle for pre-heminence, nor yet for parity; as we see the Protestants in *France* do neither expect, nor attempt any such thing, as to equalize, much lesse to overtop the Papists, who there have the Law on their sides: And why should Papists attempt any such thing here against those Protestants, who in *England* have the Law on their side every whit as much? this principle received, would lay one great struggling about matter of Religion; the other, and only principle we have finished besides this, is, that within the compasse of the owned and avowed Religion, some certain latitude ought to be admitted, that all the sober and peaceable Professors and Teachers thereof might be included, and not a piece of a Religion accepted and protected, instead of the whole, and the rest (to the great dissatisfaction both of God and men) unwarrantably excluded. I doubt I must
ride

ride Post through the other principles and maxims, (unlesse I ought rather to call them proposals) which I would lay down, because I have stayed so long upon the two first.

Thirdly, whereas every Religion must and ought to be built upon some foundation, which no man within the power and Jurisdiction of the Nation professing it, should be suffered to rase, or to undermine, by preaching, publick disputing, or writing against the same, I lay it down as a farther principle, to quiet men in point of Religion, *viz.* That fundamentals in Religion, or whatsoever things are so called, ought to be so plain in Scripture, that he who runs may read them, and should themselves be all manifestly *built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, viz, of their Doctrine.* In this case we must to the Law and to the Testimony, or else there will be no light in us. The Analogy or Rule of Faith (and what are true fundamentals of Religion but such?) is, or ought to be taken out of the plainest Texts of Scripture, such as give light to the simple; for such only can be *index sui & obscuri*, that is, shine in their own light, and give light to others.

Two things (if I mistake not) go to the constituting of a fundamental truth, *viz.* that it be clear (as I have said already) that is, *de facto*, though it may not be so *de modo* (as the doctrine of the Trinity) moreover, that it be of great consequence, and importance, if not of absolute necessity to salvation, to be known and believed. If either of these qualifications be wanting, it is no fundamental truth, nor fit to be received as such, if both be present, they will prevent a great deal of strife, and debate, which the putting of small and doubtful things upon the Church for fundamentals, (like

(like the fallacy of *non causa pro causa*) would produce.

Now whereas there are some points of Religion which for the great consequence of them, as also for their clearness, *de facto*, are, and have been adjudged fundamental; particularly, the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, which *demodo* is very obscure, the meaning and manner of which is very hard to explain; I would humbly propose, that the best way to avoid contention about such obscure Articles of our Faith, were to state them wholly, and only in the very words of Scripture, and to leave them to the Faith of men, just as there we find them, *ex. gr.* as the Apostle expresth it, 1 Joh. 5. 7. *There are three that bear Record in Heaven, viz. the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one*: Why should they not be judged to consent with us in the Doctrine of the Trinity, who subscribe to that Text, and to all others of like import, without any explication given either on their side, or on ours? For why should we require from others a punctual assent to our explication of those things, the manner of which we ourselves do profess very little, if at all, to understand?

Too peremptorily to explain things that are almost, if not altogether inexplicable, and to endeavour thereby to conclude the Judgements of others, what is it, but to conjure up enemies, and to bring quarrellsome wits about our ears?

Least of all, may private or particular men take upon them positively to explain those great mysteries, contrary to that sense which the Church for several ages hath given of them, and that (it may be) not without fear and trembling, least it should miscarry in the exposition of so mysterious Articles.

cles. They that differ from the known sense of the Church, as to such Articles, when ever they treat thereof, let them keep entirely to the letter of the Scripture, as to their Trench and Fort, and not *come over the Brook Kidron* (as I may call it, alluding to *Shimei*) and so long they will be safe, and the Church of God will be quiet: There are things enough of greater concernment to practice, upon which no doubt or controversie doth depend, expatiate upon them and spare not.

If the Church be apt to take offence, that private persons should dissent from her publick sense, as to matter of opinion, or practice, though modestly delivered by her, but as probably true, or good, shall I make so bold in that case, as to offer for peace sake, that the Church would not be too inquisitive into such matters, but leave it to God to be (as by prerogative he is) the only *searcher of hearts*, that is, let the Church not labour to scrue mens judgements out of them, who desire to keep their judgements to themselves; and meantime do live honestly, and peaceably. For by so increasing knowledge, and setting it self as it were to thrive, and confesse men, she will but increase sorrow; as *Solomon* advertiseth Eaves-droppers, *Eccles. 7. 21. Take no heed to all words that are spoken least thou hear thy Servant curse thee*: Listen not too much, wink at small faults, pry not into the hearts of men, which are the Ark of God. Some have said that *Spain* hath dispeopled, and undone it self, by its *Inquisition*: What needed the Papists in *Queen Maries* daies, to have put that insnaring question to peaceable Protestants? viz. what understand you by *Hoc est corpus meum*? This is my Body; was it not to seek an occasion against them, that they might burn them? they that

shall first examine and then punish the secrets of mens hearts, will but make work for themselves, and put the Church into a flame. They that peaceably follow a Religion, that we our selves do think, may and will bring them to Heaven at the last, ought not frivolously, or easily, to be disturbed by us, sith the end of Religion is to save the souls of men, and that which will do so should be encouraged, and not infested.

Another rule laid down by the Apostle for the peace of the Church, and of the estate of Religion, is that in *Rom. 15. 1.* *We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves.* They that know the things which are indifferent, and lawful to be done or let alone, to be so indeed, can dispense with them in themselves and others, without sin: but they that think them to be really unlawful, (and they are the weak men in the sense of this Text, as the former are the strong) cannot do them without sin: Let then our Christian charity take the chair, and let it own them for weak Brethren, who to its self shall appear to be such, and when that is done, you that are strong consider, though it might best please your selves to make weak ones stoop to your burthens, it will be only pleasing to God, that you stoop to their infirmities, and *bear them viz.* by forbearing those that cannot help them.

What of this chapter is yet behind will prove (if I mistake not) like the *Galaxia* or *milkie way* in the Heavens, which is a circle made up of many stars, but very small ones: or rather like the sparks that fall from a steel, or flint struck together, which are very little things, and soon over, though there be many of them. To save the pains of numbering particulars, make account that every distinct para-

graph

graph is a distinct head, and it is sufficient. I had almost called the following paragraphs, by the name of *Via lactea ad pacem Ecclesie & Regni*, but that to baptize, or name a child before it be born is not so usual.

Contend not for those things that are not worth contending for, and of that kind are all they; our contending for which would prevent a greater good.

There are certain truths of smaller concernment, which though evident enough, are yet less valuable than peace, not that we may deny, or renounce any known truth (though the least of all) to accommodate the peace of Church, or state (for that were to lye, which is in no case allowable) but we may forbear to urge and insist upon them. It was as really true, as any thing else can be, that no sort of meat was common; or *unclean in it self*, Rom. 14. 14. and that circumcision was not necessary, nor yet the observation of such daies as under *Moses* his Law were appointed, but yet the Apostle would not break the peace of the Church about such small matters, but suffer every man to abound in his own sense, and bids them *follow after the things which make for peace, and wherewith one may edifie another*, Rom. 14. 19.

Offend not the consciences of other men, but when if you did it not you must offend your own. *Paul* even before his conversion, did not persecute men for their consciences, but out of zeal, *concerning zeal* (saith he) *persecuting the Churches*: and in *Acts* 26. 9. he saith, *I verily thought with my self that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth*, nay in saying that, *he obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly in unbelieve*: he intimateth, that if he had not done it out of a misguided conscience,

ence, he had sinned unpardonably. Wo be to them (if there be any such) that burthen their own consciences, that they may burthen other mens, whereas no man ought to burthen the conscience of another man, but when thereby he may lighten his own, viz. By doing that, which he thinks to be his indispensable duty. If I baptize my children, as being perswaded that God requireth me so to do, and those that are against Infant Baptism are offended at it; that is scandal taken, not given. For in matter of conscience, charity must begin at home, I must take more care to gratifie my own conscience, than any other mans. But to vex the consciences of other men, in such cases as our own do not command us so to do, but rather countermand us, not command but rather check, and controule for so doing, is to make a great approach towards that *great transgression*, viz. the sin against the Holy Ghost, as some do understand it. I foresee the Church will injoy a great deal of rest, and peace, when no more shall be done to the consciences of men, then what shall be imposed upon them that do it, not by their lusts and interests; but by their very consciences.

Religion should be made use of for the edification of all, for the destruction of none. Then is Religion (or what is so called) made a stalking horse, in the worst sense that can be, when it is designed as a *snare upon mixpeh*, or as an instrument of mens ruine (though but temporal) how abominable was the saying of those *Persian Princes*, *Dan. 6. 5. We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel except we find it against him, concerning the Law of his God.* Their own consciences would have been better satisfied, if they could have found occasion against him concerning the kingdome, (for that they first sought

sought for) but they could find none, *forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.* How devilish was that policy that aimed at throwing such a man as he into the Lions den, by commanding him to restrain prayer from the Almighty for so many daies together? which kind of policy strikes with a two edged sword, for if men yeild against conscience, they are in danger of Hell-fire, if they yeild not, they are almost sure of being temporally undone. They that shall make a net of Religion, in any other sence, than to catch Souls for Heaven, will make the Church a mountain of prey, and the waters of the Sanctuary to be filled meribah or waters of strife. Dan. 6. 24. and may themselves in time be cast into a Den; as they have cast others: and those Lions have mastery over them, and break all their bones, which before were Lambs till they made Lyons of them.

Make the yoke of Religion as light; and as easy, as you can, and let it not be only tollerable, or not more than men can make a shift to bear: for when the wayes of wisdom are ways of pleasantness, then assuredly will her paths be peace. He whose master puts him to as much work as ever he can do, and what is next to that would exceed his strength, will never have his ears bored in the service of such a master, thereby resigning himself to be his servant for ever. A man had better accept of less work, with more good will, and chearfulness. I pity that old man that said he did so, and so, but with a trembling hand, and an aking heart; and that he thought every conscientious man did the same thing in the same manner.

To them that desire the uniting of all worthy and sober men, give me leave to say, that such would swallow gnats, if they might be exempted from

Camels; I say for the sake of publick work, and publick peace, they would swallow such things as to them seem inexpedient (which I mean by Gnats) though they cannot but strain at Camels, that is such things, as to them seem unlawful. Publick countenance and maintenance, would outweigh matters of indifferency with many men, to whom such things are more than indifferent, even very necessary.

One good way to make the yoke of Religion easie, is to make use of as few spiritual cords, as may be, to tye men with, but rather of such as are of a civil nature; for thereby the Church and State are more secured, and the minds of men less exasperated. It is well known what Churchwardens have sworn to do, by the oaths which they took at their entrance into that office; but whether it be that they fear to perform what they did fear not to promise, (or whatever the reason is) we find the intended obligation hath little influence upon them, and they are generally the same, as if they had taken no such oaths, which confirms what I was saying, *viz.* that Religious obligations, as from some men, give the Church and State but little security, yet do they vex and disquiet the minds of men, more than those of another nature would do, and greatly imbitter them against those by whom they are imposed upon them against their wills.

It would yet further conduce to the Church its peace, (which is the thing I am earnestly in pursuit of throughout this Chapter, though in order to the restauration of the City) if it might be taken for a sufficient proof of mens obedience to the Church and the Officers of it, when men observe all the Commands of God, seconded by their Authority: whosoever doth what is manifestly his duty,

ry, having the Authority both of God and man to induce him thereunto, should be presumed to have respect unto both in the doing it.

Lattly, Superiours should study all they can to give satisfaction in matters of Religion, and Inferiours what in them is to receive it: So Paul *became all things to all men, that he might win some: He saith, he studied to please all men for their good to edification.* Superiours should impose nothing but what upon a true accompt is necessary, *Act. 15. 28. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessary things, &c.* and inferiours should oppose nothing, but what they judge unlawful. That which I aim to prove in all that I have herein said is, that such principles and practises as I have here recommended (as modestly as I could, and with humble submission to better judgements) would much incourage and further the building of the City; which conclusion I draw from these two premises, *viz.* what would pacifie and satisfie men as to matter of Religion, would much promote the restoring of the City: But the things suggested would much pacifie and satisfie men, as to matter of Religion. The minor I have proved at large; the major, or first Proposition, I shall briefly speak to, and so put a period to this Chapter, which for the length of it beyond any other, formerly compared to the Antediluvian Patriarchs, we may call *Methuselah*.

That quieting the minds of men, as to matters of Religion, would promote the building of the City, I shall briefly prove, as followeth. Joy is the strength of men, as one Text saith, *The joy of the Lord shall be your strength: Joy makes men like Gyants refreshed with Wine, mighty to run their race.* Now certain it is, that to give men content in point of

Religion, would fill them with joy, and make the greatest Jubilee that hath yet been kept.

If it be said, that some will never be pleased with liberty granted to themselves; unless the same be denied to all others not of the same opinion in all things, though of the same Religion in the main, Charity would, that I should think there are but a few such ill natur'd people, and they, of all others, have, and do forfeit their own liberty.

I have heard of a Senator much condemned for putting a bird to death, at a time when it was accounted a *Piaculum* to destroy the life of any creature; but he alledging, (if my ill memory do not misrepresent the story) that the bird he killed, was one that would not suffer other birds to live by him, was thereupon acquitted, (and well he might.) I hope there are but few birds of that feather, at this day, since men have seen what pecking at, and preying one upon another, hath brought us to; let him be as *the speckled bird*, (*Jer. 12. 9.*) who would have all others made to fly the light, and the Sun to shine upon none but himself, and those that flock together with him.

But for the generality of men I dare to undertake, that a liberty in common with others (birds of the same kind, though not of the same feather) that is, persons of the same Religion for substance, though of different opinion,) would make their hearts more glad, than theirs whose corn and wine encrease: Then would our City go merrily on, and men would build with a courage, whereas on the other hand, dissatisfactions as to Religion, dispirit men for all good purposes, and make them cold and careless; whilst men dream of transplanting, they will have little heart to building: That which makes men listless to Trade, will make them

them so to build; and that which quickneth the one, (as to deal tenderly with their Religion, certainly doth) will also quicken the other. Whilst some upbraid others with their dissonant Opinions, they will upbraid them again with their dissolute lives: and thus whilst we pry into one anothers weakneses, and pelt each other with dirt, the City is like to go but slowly on, to what it might do, if we had that mutual charity which is said to *cover a multitude of infirmities*. A vexed conscience, like the passion of *jealousie*, is the rage of a man, and will hardly spare in the day of its wrath. A vexed conscience will go nigh to discover it self one time or other, as they say, *vexata natura prodit seipsam*. And are men fit to build in a rage? A serene mind is fit for any thing, but a mind that is like the raging Sea, will do nothing but cast up dirt and mire. We read in *Isa. 11. 13.* how that Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. When God shall make and perform some such promise to England, then certainly will our City go up again.

DISCOURSE XVII.

That a studious advancing and promoting of Trade by those that have power to do it, would greatly contribute to the Re-building of London.

WHat should we do with a City without a Trade? Can men pay great rents, and fines, keep servants, &c. with little or no trade? Citizens (as is said of the Fowls of the Air) can neither sow nor reap *illis nec seritur nec metitur* in a literal sense. London Streets are neither arable nor Pasture. Take away their Trade, and you take their Millstone to pledge, which is their very life, for so a mans livelyhood is said to be. London is a Lamp, Trade the Oil that feeds it. What is a Lamp without Oil? Give them but Oil enough, and if others have made them burn, you will make them shine again.

If Trade be destroyed, Citizens will be starved, and that will make them desperate: for *Hunger* (as they say) *will break through stone walls*. Those Bees will care for no hive, if they can suck no honey. If Trades be not the making of men, usually they are their undoing. If Trading take wings and fly away, they will be gone too. Could Londoners foresee there would be no Trade, they would presently cease from building, and betake themselves to the Countrey, where they could profit more both by the earth and by the air, and could live for less. No Trade, no City; no City, no Kingdom. Impoverish *London*, and you impoverish the Countrey (for the City doubtless was, and is the best door of utterance for the Countrey mans best Commodities) impoverish the Farmer, and you undo both Gentry and Nobility,

for

for what shall Landlords live upon, when Tenants cannot pay their rents?

Who knows not that Trade is that to the Politick Body, that the Circulation of the Bloud (whereby proper nourishment is conveyed to every part) is to the Body natural? When the Bloud stagnates, or doth not circulate freely, the Body languisheth. Trade is a Mystery of gaining by those that do gain by us, and in the same Commodity. The Merchant gains by the Drugster, the Drugster by the Apothecary, the Apothecary by the Patient, and the Patient by the Apothecary (with the blessing of God) though not wealth, yet health, which is better. As friendship is upheld in the World by an intercourse of kindnesses, and doing of courtesies one for another, so the greatest part of humane society, is upheld by Commerce and Traffique, one man needing anothers Commodities, and he his again.

Trade is as I may call it a grave *Tennis-play*, whereby the Ball of profit is banded from one man to another, an exercise which most men are so well pleased with, that should they be deprived of it, many men would not much care to be in the World, much less in the City. In a word, Trade is the very radical moisture of *London*, and of other Cities, when that is almost dried up, Citizens, like those that are fallen into a Consumption, or hectick Fever, will change the Air, and choose to be in the Countrey, and to build there, if they build any where. Give Citizens what you will besides, they will never be content without a Trade, and the reason is, because they cannot be content to starve: as we see the Inhabitants of those Towns are ready to do, where the ancient Trade (were it of Gloathing or whatsoever else) is almost quite lost. Though Trade would not content them without any thing else, yet I am sure no-
thing

thing else would without the accession of a Trade. Men will never believe they have any love for them, who have none for their Trading, and do naturally hate those whom they do but suspect to be enemies thereunto.

Enemies to Trade (if there be any such Monsters) can be no friends to the honour of the King, for to be a King of Beggars must needs be a disgrace, sith God counts it his honour to be a *King of Kings*.

I think the honour, as of a King, so of a Parliament, is not a little concerned in the welfare of Trade. For a Parliament is a Colledge of State Physitians, and Trade hath been their Patient all along (a cacheetick, obstructed Patient) could they cure it at last, they would be famous. *London*, in the Act for the rebuilding of it, is spoken of by the Honourable Title of a place renowned for Traffique and Commerce all the World over: So will the contrivers of that Act be, for their Wisdom and prudence, when they shall bring it to that pass again.

Could Londoners regain such a Trade as formerly they have had, they would not grudge to build such a City as might even dazle the eyes of its beholders; but as Trade goes now, they think it is fine enough as it is, and is intended to be, if not too fine.

DISCOURSE XVIII.

That the best way to dispatch the City, would be to build some whole Streets together.

WE have yet but a scattering Village (as it were) of the new part of *London*, whereas if we had been wise, we might have had by this time (almost as easily) a kind of New City. My meaning is this, If the Owners of ground belonging to some of the highest and noblest Streets, had all agreed together to begin, and carry on their buildings all at once, or to part with their ground to others, so many of them as were not in a capacity so to do) others being as willing to give them a valuable consideration for it (as having a regard on both sides to the publick good) then might we have seen ere now, a *New Cornhill*, a *New Cheapside* compleat, and entire, and possibly some other streets of greatest note and eminency. These would have lookt and signified like a new City, or some good part of such a thing.

It is good to make an end of one thing first. Husbandmen do not use to Plow and Sow a part of one Furrow, and a part of another, and so of fifty or a hundred before they have finished any one, but count it the best Husbandry to Plow and Sow a whole Furrow at a time. We say, he that is *aliquis in omnibus*, is *nullus in singulis*, he that is some body in every thing, is good at nothing. He is more a Scholar that is thoroughly versed in one Art or Science, than he that hath but sipt of every one. In like manner, two goodly new Streets would look more like a new *London*, than all that is built as yet. I doubt not but they who made the Act for Building did foresee this, but fearing to be injurious to particular persons, by making

making some more forward than they could afford to be, and others more backward than they needed, or were willing to have bin, (who would have thought it unreasonable to have stayed for others, till their houses had bin first built (though scituate in more eminent places than were their own) thought fit to leave it to the Liberty and Prudence of men to agree amongst themselves what might in that particular be most for the general good.

If Workmen and Materials enough could have been procured, or yet may, (which I doubt not) to carry on all, and every house at one and the same time, in one or two noble streets, and nevertheless to supply the occasions of scattered buildings, and builders, in other more obscure places (where a liberty of Building dividedly, and successively, were allowed) then would the publick convenience no ways interfere with any mans private interest.

Suppose then it were proclaimed, that all and every house, in two or three eminent streets should be built at one and the same time; and at such a time they would begin, do you think that workmen would not come from all parts of his Majesties Dominions (if not also from Protestant Countries beyond the Seas) as not doubting to meet with good and full employment? Now in case they should do so, there would not want hands to do every mans work, as well in private streets, as in those of greater eminency. Bells that ring for Weddings, and other joyful solemnities, are rang all together, and then we know they make the best musick, whereas one, and but one Bell at a time, gives the doleful notice of Deaths and Funerals. In the case I am speaking of, it is not only the more the merrier, but the fewer the worse cheer, contrary to the latter part of our Proverb.

It

It hath been complained of, that houses which have been built at some distance of time from one another, have been apt to sever and part one from another, and one to sink before the other were finished, which should make men ambitious to build houses in the same street at the same time, which will agree best, as twins are wont to do, who were bred and born, at or near the same time. It is best that houses which must be contiguous, should be contemporary, and they that must stand together, should rise together, and be a collateral security (if I may so call it) each to other.

Divided houses (some one or some few in one street and some in another) do or may sadly remember us of divided interests, every man shifting for himself, and setting up for himself, or some few together, like those St. Paul speaks of *Acts 27. 44.* who in the time of Ship-wrack, *Some cast themselves into the Sea, being able to swim, and the rest, some on boards, and some on the broken pieces of the Ship, made towards the Land.*

Methinks men should strain hard (their credit and purses, I mean not their consciences) to comply with a common and publick good, and particularly, with building some whole streets together, or giving way to others, if that be such. Nature hath taught the lifeless elements to quit their proper center when it may be for the good of the universe. So Water which naturally inclineth to ascend, will descend to prevent an abhorred *vacuum*: So the Heavenly Spheres though they have a slow motion of their own, from West to East, yet do more swiftly accompany the *primum mobile*, or first mover from East to West, as if it were to shew us we should be more swift in adhering to, and attending upon a publick good, than our own private.

Let

Let it never be said that men will not agree to do what is best for themselves, unless they be forc'd to it, for that is just like Children: If then it appear to be for a publick and common good to build some whole streets together, let no man oppose it with respect to his private interest, especially, if there be those that would compensate him for it, for so to do, were (according to our Proverb) *To burn other mens Houses, that we might roast our own Eggs.*

DISCOURSE XIX.

That our building ought to begin where the fire ended.

THE Fire made more ends than one, for that it burned both East and West: but wheresoever it ended, there should we begin to build. The method of fire, and of building, are quite opposite, the first is *Analytical*, the latter *Synthetical*, which method begins with the end of things: So one of the first questions in Theology is, *what is the chief end of man?* The fire went from the middle, (as it were) to the extremes, from *Thame street* towards *Tower-street* on one, and towards the *Temple* on the other hand; but every body knows, that it is better to proceed from extremes to the middle, for (*in medio virtus*) (and that is the method which I commend to be used in our building) *viz.* to build first at both ends, or extremes of the City, where the fire gave over destroying, and so to proceed to the middle, from the two poles (as it were) to the center; as they say, *where the natural Phylosopher ends, there the Physitian begins: ubi definit Physicus, &c.* So where the fire ended, ought the builders to begin.

Now

Now the reason of that advice is, because when there are but few houses in the new City, if they stand by themselves, they will be unsafe, but if they be joyned to the old buildings, (and do stand cheek by jowl with it) they will be as safe and secure as it self.

Again, houses so built, (I mean contiguous with the old City) will be more commodious for Trade, and that with respect both to buyers and sellers: Buyers will not have far to go for their commodities, and sellers (by that means) will have the more customers, more Chapmen.

Moreover, to joyn the new part of the City to the old, at both ends, and on both sides of the way, would make it more speedily to look like a City, even as a quarter of an hours discourse upon new matter, joyned to half an hours repetition of that which is good, and old, passeth for a Sermon; whereas a quarter of an hours discourse by it self, would puzzle men what to call it, and be laught at for a short come off. A new City joyned to the old, would be the Embleme of a *sober comprehension*, mannaged to the best advantage of Church and State, and of all good men; whereas the scattering of houses some here, some there, at some distance one from another, and all at a distance from the old building, would be more the Embleme of an *universal tolleration* taking in Papists, Quakers, and every body else, and which is best of the two, I leave to other men to judge; not to joyn the new and old together, were to make as if they were two distinct Cities, whereas indeed they are but two distinct parts of one and the same City, united under the same Governors and Government, and comprized within the same wall: Drunken men use to see things double, which are but single, and it is an ill
K design

design to make things seem to be more than they are. I love unity, and that it should be owned to be where it is, though I shall not curse the number two (as one of the Ancients did) for first wording from it.

I have given my reasons why what was last in the execution of the fire (burning both wayes) should be first in the intention and prosecution of the builder: I will but moralize this head, and dismiss it. Sin, like the fire, hath made the greatest havock in the midst of us, I mean upon the middle part of our lives, not guarded by a harmless ignorance, as was our youth, nor yet by a preventing impotency, (as old age is.) Now the main work of a Christian should begin at the two ends of his life, (for so the two extremes may be called, and the phrase of *our latter end* seemeth to imply a former end.) In matter of examination, confession, &c. a Christian should begin at the beginning, or hither end of his life: *In sin was I born*, Psa. 51. but in point of meditation, it is good to begin at the further or latter end of our lives, (proceeding from thence to serious reflections upon the midst, and worst of them) as God spake by *Moses*, Deut. 32. 29. *O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end.*

DISCOURSE XX.

That it would much conduce to the rebuilding of London, to have a through search made how and by what means it was burnt.

I Charge no body with the burning of *London*, but him that charged it upon himself, that confessed, and died for it. But let others produce what they have to say: if men will confidently affirm that *London* was destroyed, by the treachery, and cruelty of more persons than that one forementioned miscreant, it is pity but they were punished, if they can produce no probable grounds and reasons, for what they say: But if they have things to alledge in the case, which do amount at least to a strong presumption, and just ground of great suspicion, that so it was, it is great pity but that sent should be followed, those footsteps traced, and the utmost sagacity of wise, and impartial men, (Magistrates and others) employed to fathom and discover what is at the bottom. As *Samuel* said to *Saul*, *what meanest thou this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the Oxen which I bear?* So say I, what meanest that doleful cry, which is daily in our ears, such and such have burnt our City? That is soon said, and may be as soon denied, but proof is all in all. Some tell us *There is a great cry but no wooll*, a great smোক of accusation, but no fire (or so much as a spark) of guilt. Still I say, *sub judice lis est*: When the law hath given a perfect lot in the case, then, and not till then, shall we certainly know who is in the right. That old dilemma will never be answered: if it be enough to accuse who can be innocent, if it be sufficient to excuse who will ever seem guilty?

Therefore there is a third thing that must of necessity be done and that is tryal to be made, by sufficient Juries, and the worthy Judges, what validity there is in all, and every the Allegations *pro*, and *con*, given in upon Oath, what all the Plaintiffs can say against; and all the Defendants can say for themselves, do signify and amount to. What moment, all the circumstances produced and proved, have, and are of in the ballance of reason. When that is done, there is reason for every man to be satisfied, and I hope it will be so. Have our Laws provided, that if the despicablest person that can be, lye dead in the streets, unknown to any body there present, how he or she came by their death, a jury shall be impanel'd, and the Coroner shall sit upon it, to give sentence what the cause, of his or her death was? And did not God himself by his servant *Moses* will, and command the *Isralites*, that if one were found slain in their land, and it were not known who had slain him, Deut. 21. 1. *All the elders of that City which was next unto the slain man should wash their hands over a Heifer that was beheaded and say, our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it, v. 6, 7. And the Priests the sons of Levi shall come near, and by their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried, v. 5.* which last words seem to imply, that the persons who came to the place where the dead body lay (or the heifer instead of the dead body) were not acquitted by thir meer washing their hands, in token of innocency (as *Pilate* did) nor yet by professing themselves not to have shed that blood, or to have known who did, but that the sons of *Levi* in those daies, had a spirit of discerning given them, whereby they were able upon seeing, and hearing such passages, to judge whether the persons, who appeared to purge themselves, were guilty, or not

not guilty. For the text saith, *By their word shall every stroke be tried.* Did the Law of God inquire so strictly after the death of every man (the time and manner of whose death was unknown) and do the laws of our land do the like at this day? and is it not highly reasonable that the death and destruction of a famous City, the greater part of which lies slain in the streets to this day, and buried in its own ruines, and ashes, I say that the means and causes thereof should be inquired into?

Nay how great a care did the Law of God take to satisfie those husbands (one way or other) upon whom *the spirit of jealousy* came, though there were no witness to prove that against their wives, which they were jealous of: Yea if *the husband were jealous of his wife and she were not defiled*, Numb. 5. 13, & 14. Though the thing he was jealous of could not be proved, yea though the woman was not guilty, nevertheless she was to offer the *jealousy offering*, v. 18. to purg her self by an Oath, v. 19. and to drink of the bitter water, v. 18. and all this was no prejudice to the wife in case she were innocent, nay it was an advantage to her, for v. 28. it is said, *If the woman be not defiled but be clean then she shall be free*, viz. First from the curse, or mischief which the bitter water would otherwise have brought upon her, v. 19. *If thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness be thou free from this bitter water which causeth the curse*, v. 19 Secondly from the jealousy, and suspicion of her husband, which would not otherwise have been taken off. And one benefit more she was to have by it, expressed, v. 28. *And shall conceive seed*, that is, if she were barren before; she should after that have a Child, and if she had any formerly she should have more. If so much were done to satisfie the jealousy of one private man, may nothing reasonably

be expected to satisfie and take off the jealousies of thousands, if not millions of men and women, in City and country, in a matter of higher consequence, than is that injury which a husband receiveth by the unchastness of his wife? (though that injury be very great, yet this I say was greater :) For this was a fault not to be pardoned if proved, whereas *Joseph* though a just man when he suspected his espous'd wife, to have been unlawfully with Child, thought to have past it by, and not to have made her an example, *Mat. i.*

How desirous were the *Philistines* that were smote with Emrods to know, *whither God had done them that great evil, or whether it were not some chance that had hapned to them, 1 Sam. 6. 9.* Was their Plague of Emrods greater than our plague of Fire? If not, why should we less inquire after this how it came than they after that?

To inform our selves how the Fire came to pass, is not a point of curiosity, but of great use. For could it be made out (at leastwise with great probability) that it was the immediate hand of God, and as it were Fire from Heaven, that did consume our City, that circumstance would so much promote our humiliation, to think that (rather than suffer us to go unpunished,) God should work a miracle to destroy us.

And then again upon other accounts, it might make much for our comfort, to know that men had no hand in the doing of it. For if God himself did do it immediately, we may hope the like will not be done again, in many ages to come. For as God, after he had once drowned the world, did presently promise he would do so no more: so it is scarcely to be paraleld amongst the providences of God, that he should burn the same City twice in a short time

time. He useth to pause, and as it were to deliberate long, upon such strange acts of Judgment, as those are, expostulating with himself, and with them as of old: *How shall I give thee up O Ephraim? how shall I make thee like Admah, and like Zeboim, my bowels are turned within me, &c.*

But they that suspect it was burnt by men, till that jealousy be removed, will always be in fear, that they whom they mistrust to have destroyed it once, if undiscovered, will attempt to destroy it again, as soon and as often as they can. Now in case the bitter water of a through examination shall confirm the thing they were jealous of, viz. that London was fired by Instruments, and it shall come to light who those Instruments were, it is all the reason in the world they should be made examples, that others may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly. I reckon the danger would be over (for one Age at least) as to that sort of men that should once be proved and owned to have burnt the City, so firmly as they would be bound to their good behaviour, and so watchful an eye as would be held over them from that time forward.

All opposition made to the sifting out that business, doth vehemently encrease the jealousies of men; for he that doth well cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest; but they that have done evil baire the light, lest their deeds of darkness should be re-proved. One would think that whosoever is suspected (being indeed innocent) should be more earnest than any other persons to come to a strict scrutiny, that themselves might be vindicated. Methinks the chaste Wife that had a jealous Husband, should and could not but long for the bitter water, as knowing it would be so far from causing her belly to swell, and her thigh to rot, that it would keep

her name from rotting, and make her of a sorrowful suspected Wife, to become a joyful Mother. If all men can wash their hands in innocency, as from the burning of London, I heartily wish that God would bring forth their righteousness as the light, and their judgement as the noon day. It is pity they should suffer so much as in their names, who had no hand in it, and if any had, besides that poor *Hubart*, who was executed upon that accompt (the strangest instance that ever was if he burnt such a City alone) to suffer in their names only is not sufficient.

But now I think of it, there lately came down a Command, or Commission to the City, to take examinations upon oath of all matters relating to the fire, which was done accordingly, and the injunction to do it was I know accepted with all humble thankfulness, and as well resented by many, as ever any thing was. That considered, I must excuse what I have said with that of the Poet, He that recommends what is done already, thereby commends him that did it. *Qui monet facias quod jam facis ille monendo laudat.* What *Solomon* saith in another case, I shall allude to in this: After so much enquiry as hath been made already, upon the oaths of sufficient persons, (many of whose depositions are now extant,) and after all that are like to be hereafter made, by vertue of the Authority then granted, if there be any guilt at the bottom, *Whosoever hideth it hideth the wind, and the ointment of his right hand which bewrayeth it self, Prov. 27. 16.*

DISCOURSE XXI.

That the countenance of Rulers, expressing much zeal and earnestness to have the City again, and a sad sense of its present ruines, would put much life into the work.

Blessed be God, and blessed of the Lord be they, for all that countenance, which by those that are in Authority, hath been given to the rebuilding of *London*, and particularly by that most prudent Act of theirs, which was made for that end and purpose: That by that Act *Londoners* were allowed but a Copy-hold Lease of time, viz. the term of three years, for rebuilding of the City, was enacted upon no evil design, such as to surprize and take advantage against them, for not being able to finish the work in so short a time; but with a full intent to renew their Lease, at or before the expiration of it, (if need should be) and that upon better conditions than the former, as experience should inform them of any thing that might be better. Sure I am, *London* had hitherto been like a Tree that stands in the shade, if the beams of Authority had not shone upon it so as they have done, it had not been in that good forwardness that it is at this day.

What if it be the true interest of our Rulers and Governours, (as doubtless it is) that *London* should be rebuilt with all convenient speed? are they therefore neither praise nor thank-worthy for contributing their assistance? If Magistrates espouse the interest of Religion, and cherish it both in themselves and others, in so doing they shall pursue

due their own interest upon the best terms, (for God will honor those that honor him) yet for so doing, all good men will acknowledge, we ought to praise and thank them more than for any thing else.

I need not tell our Rulers (whose interest I have elsewhere proved it is, that *London* should be rebuilt) that great works go on but slowly without countenance from Magistrates, and ordinarily as swiftly with it, when they afford not only permission and connivance, but Commission and countenance. Our Proverb saith, *The Masters eye makes the horse fat*. Of the Temple it is said, *Ezra 6. 14. They builded and finished it according to the Commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artaxerxes, King of Persia*.

How vigorously *Cyrus*, though a Heathen Prince, did bestir himself for and towards the rebuilding of the Temple of *Jerusalem*: We are told almost throughout the sixth Chapter of the Book of *Ezra*. and as if *Artaxerxes* had vyed with *Cyrus* for zeal in that matter, or laboured to out strip him: We read as much of him in the seventh Chapter, from the 11th verse, till towards the end. If either of them had had a Palace of his own to build, which his heart had been greatly set upon, I see not how he could have promoted it more than both of them did the Temple. *Ezra. 7. 23. Whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven, let it be diligently done, (said Artaxerxes in his Decree) for the House of the God of Heaven; for why should there be wrath against the Realm of the King?* Under those benigne aspects and influences of great ones, the Temple went up amain; and so doubtless (with the blessing of God) may our City, if the like countenance and encouragement from such as are in chief Authority shall always be afforded to it.

And

And what should make us doubt but so it will be ? For first, our Rulers know full well, that nothing will be resented as a greater demonstration of their love and care, than an earnest forwardness expressed to see *London* up again, (or of the contrary, than a want of that) nothing will beget a greater confidence of the people in them, and affection towards them, than that would do.

Besides that, it is more their own concern, in point of Honor and profit, that *London* should be rebuilt again, than it is the concern of any ten men whatsoever, as his Majesty was pleased to say in print, That his loss, by the burning of *London*, was greater than any mans esse ; and certainly it was. Was not his Majesty the great Landlord, to whom all the houses in *London* had wont to pay a kind of Quit-Rent, (othergise than a Pepper-Corn) viz. so much yearly for every Chimney ? Private men may call this, or that, or some few houses in *London* theirs, but only the Kings of *England* can call *London* their City. (as they use to do) (though not in such a sense as to destroy the propriety of particular owners) But though owners have more interest in some houses, Kings have some in all, which cannot be said of any Subject : Neither is that of profit which Kings have had by the City of *London* so great, but the interest of honor and reputation, which hath accrued to them by their dominion over so famous a City (the very quintessence of their Kingdoms) hath been as great, or greater : All which things considered, it were not unreasonable, or effeminate, if a King should openly lament the loss of such a City, in some such language, as *David* did the loss of *Absalom*, when he cryed out, O *Absalom*, *Absalom*, my Son *Absalom*, O *Absalom*, my Son, my Son. O *London*, *London*, my City, my City, &c. I should

140 *The Re-building of London*

should think the loss of *London* to be as great as was that of *Callice*, which one *Queen of England* laid so much to heart.

Should then our Rulers express such a passion for *London*, as *David* did for *Absalom*, or as *Rachel* is said to have done for the loss of her children (as hardly any case would better bear it) or should they say concerning *London*, as *Rachel* concerning children before she had any, *Give me children, or I die*. Methinks I easily foresee, how the generality of the people would do as *David's* valiant men did, who *brake through an Host of Philistims, and drew water out of the Well of Bethlehem, and brought it to David, because he longed for it, 2 Sam. 23. 15.* My meaning is, if Rulers shall express such an earnest longing after another *London*, as *David* did after the waters of *Bethlehem*, people would adventure life, and all, but they should soon have it; and the reason is, because Rulers in so passionately wishing for another City, would express kindness to the people, as well as to themselves; and people in pursuing so good a work, would shew kindness to themselves, as well as to their Rulers, the grateful sense of whose love they are ambitious to express; and when all those things should meet together, it would be as when stream, and wind, and tide, (and that a Spring-tide too) do all concur to promote a Vessel that is sailing, or Galley that goes with Oars.

When the encouragement of Magistrates, together with the interest and inclinations of a people, do all run one way, then are people like *Gyants refreshed with wine*, who though mighty of themselves, are made thereby more mighty to run their Race. Had *David* been to build such a City as *London*, I know what *Absalom* would have said, (and many people

people would have believed him) by what I read of him, 2 Sam. 15. 4. viz. that if it were as much in his, as in the power of some other, they should not stay long for another City: It is not fit for any man to boast as he boasted; Go too, saith S. James, *ye that say we will go to such a City, and continue there a year, and get gain, James 4. 13.* Much more might he have checkt those that should say by such a time, they would build such a great City: but most certain it is, that such a work might be greatly expedited, and will be so, when Rulers shall please to act in it (as natural Agents always do) *ad extremum virium*, to the utmost of their power, and to be instant upon it, as if amongst their earthly concerns, it were for the present, *the one thing necessary*. Their zeal so expressed, would doubtless provoke many, and incourage all.

DISCOURSE XXII.

That the choice of worthy men into places of Power, both in City and Country, would contribute much to the rebuilding of London.

ALL Power in *England* is not conveyed by Election, and choice of the people, neither is it fit it should. The Supreme Power, viz. that of the King, as also the power of the Nobility in Parliament, is not Elective, but (as I may call it) Native, that which they are not chosen, but born to (that I may avoid his expression (as fearing he shewed his wit more than his grace) who said, that the Nobles in Parliament were called, but not chosen.) Surely the hereditariness of the Crown in *England* (and some other places) is an end of much strife, which would result from popular elections, upon every vacancy,

vacancy, or decease of the supreme magistrate. Witness the many late confusions in the Kingdom of *Poland*, which is conferred by election.

But setting aside those two orders, or estates (as some call them) *viz.* King, and Nobles, which according to the constitution of *England*, have a birth-right in power) all others derive their offices, and power from the choice, and appointment, either of the King, or people; as Judges, Parliament men, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, &c. Most of these and of the rest that are invested with power, are made by the choice of the people, and much the lesser part come by their authority, any other way.

Now for that there is great reason, *viz.* that they who chuse for the people, should be chosen by them. So Orphans have leave to chuse their own gardians, and malefactors themselves have a power of refusing such Jury-men as they do not like, because when accepted of they must stand to their verdict.

As for those who are born to rule (according to the laws of *England*) it is not in the people to prevent their power, they can only pray that God would make them, *just, ruling in the fear of God*, as it is said they that rule over men ought to be.

But as for others (and they are the greater part) who cannot get into the saddle of power unless the people hold the styrop for them, or who are made, or to be made, by the election of the people, if they be not such as they ought to be, the people may thank themselves. If having two sorts of men set before them, one very good, the other very bad, (as were *Jeremy's* figs, *Jer. 24. 2.*) they will chuse the bad, and refuse the good, it is their own fault: and they are like to pay dearly for it, as those women use to do who withstand good motions, one after another; and at length cast away themselves upon

upon some vain Prodigal, who will imbezzle their estates, and undoe both them and theirs. Methinks the Psalmists language is not too sharp; to be used in this case, *Ps. 94. 8. Understand ye brutish amongst the people, and ye fools when will ye be wise?*

Do you think that bad Magistrates, if you shall choose such, will cordially help to build a good City? *Solomon* telleth us, that *Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands, Prov. 14. 11.* Unwise rulers may be good at pulling down, but not at building up. The choice of ill magistrates is like a fault made in the first concoction, which can never be repaired in either of the two later. It is an error in the foundation which can never be mended in the superstructure.

I am not of their mind who say *Dominium temporale fundatur in gratiâ*, that none ought to be intrusted with power but those that appear to have saving grace. Grace is indeed excellent in a magistrate, but morallity only is essential unto being good in an office, and that to be sure is. He that shall use but the office of a Deacon (this mean office in the Church) it is said of him, that *he must be grave, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, that he must be proved and found blameless, 1 Tim. 3. 8.* Now what magistrate (properly so called) is not intrusted with more power than he that is a Deacon in the Church? and therefore ought not to be defective in the mean qualifications of one that is but a Deacon. Some have seemed to think that any thing is good enough to make a Magistrate, contrary to that old proverb, *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*. Who can make Gods of Devils: now Magistrates in the Scripture are called Gods, but dissolute men are little better than Devils, and may be called *Satan*, a thousand times, upon as great,

great, or greater reasons, as *Peter* was once so called by our Saviour, saying to him, *get thee behind me Satan.*

It is more than Egyptian idolatry (in some sense) to deify what is worse than leeks and onions. The people that make such Gods are like unto them. Admit the Gods you make be of gold, and silver (whereas some it may be are of no better stuff, then was the lower part of *Nebuchadnezzars* Image) with the richness of the mettall be a sufficient excuse, why then were the *Israelites* punished for worshipping a golden Calf? Think not if a man have wealth enough, he is presently fit to make a Magistrate: you would be loth to chuse him for a pilot (especially in a storm) that hath no skill in sea-faring affairs, because he hath more goods in the ship than most other men, or to take him for the Physician in a dangerous distemper, who understands not the cure of any one disease, because a man of great estate, or your good Landlord. A Magistrate may better want an inheritance, than want wisdom, though both together would best accomplish him. We read of a poor wise man that saved a City, but never of a rich fool that did any such thing. All will confess that Magistrates should be sober men, and that they may be such, all men should be sober when they chuse them, else their choice may be such that their best excuse may be that they were drunk when they made it. That corporation is like to reel, and stagger, whose officers are chosen by drunken men, or by many that are such, at the making of their choice. Defeat not the ends which are, that *Magistrates should be a terror to evil doers; but an encouragement to them that do well.* Put not a sword into the hands of madmen, least they sheath it in your own bowels: know that

Moses,

Moses, as well as Aaron, should have a kind of *Urim* and *Thummim*, or what those words signifie, viz. light of knowledg, and integrity of life.

They that have both of them, will doubtless contribute their utmost help to the rebuilding of our City. For they that are such, will concern themselves for the good of their Kingdoms; yea of the whole protestant World, which I have proved doth much depend upon the being, and well being of London.

And verily it is much that Magistrates (with the blessing of God) may do towards the welfare of a nation (much more of one City) when they are generally set upon it, they having the power of a nation in their hands, as High Sheriffs are said to have the *posse comitatus* or power of a county. As the other spheres are carried about with the *primum mobile*, so are the people by the Magistrates. They are as it were the muscles of a nation, which move the body politick, how and which way they please. Rulers in Scripture are called shepherds, and good shepherds will no doubt provide a fold for their flock. They are also called builders (as where we read of the stone which the builders refused) and questionless, they will be found to be master-builders of our ruinous London, who are indeed good Magistrates. You may elect such men into places of power and authority, as would more rejoyce to see London burn't than built again, for such spirits there are abroad (witness the triumphs of some after the last fire) You may again elect others (as places shall be vacated by death or otherwise) who will be as intent upon the building of the City, as the Jews were of old upon the building of Jerusalem: and the Temple of God therein. I have presented you with both chase you whither.

DISCOURSE XXIII.

That one good way to promote our City, would be to oblige our Governors (all we can) to put to their helping hand.

I Would not have Rulers be sinfully disobliged upon any terms. We ought not to provoke them that are in authority over us (unless conscience provoke us to do, what will accidentally, but not intentionally provoke them) *that not only for wrath but for conscience sake.* Rulers are parents (*patres patriæ*) and if children must not be provoked to wrath by their parents, much less ought parents to be so served by their children.

Away with those *Chams*, who are all for uncovering their fathers nakedness, and those scurrilous Pamphlets which design nothing else; tell not those things in *Gath*, publish them not in the streets of *Ashkelon*, though (with *Cham*) you had seen them, which you never did: Take the garment of love and dutifulness, lay it upon your shoulders, and though you go backward, and the face of your practice cannot be towards them, (or answer to theirs, as doth face to face in a glass) yet cover their nakedness, in a sense alluding to what you read of *Shem* and *Japhet*, *Gen. 9. 23.* To restore those that are overtaken in a fault (one or more) with a spirit of meekness, is a very obliging thing, especially when Inferiours shall do this to Superiours, for this is for children to have the heart of a Father, which is more than for Parents to have a heart like themselves; for it is harder for love to ascend, than to descend. Mourn for their sins in secret, but proclaim them not, much less aggravate them: It may be

be they will cover your offences more easily, (which are such to them) if you will cover theirs; and will do more for you, if you will speak less against them; that good rule, *Speak evil of no man*, will justify your silence, as to such matters.

There are greater obligations that may and ought to be laid upon those that govern us, than is our forbearance to speak evil of them, or to upbraid them with whatsoever men think they are upbraidable: for over and above that, it behoveth us in the first place to take thankful notice, and make an open acknowledgment of all the good that either we see in them, or receive from them. God who is infinitely our Superiour, doth so by us; for speaking of *Abijah*, he saith, *That in him only there was found some good thing towards the Lord in the house of Jeroboam*. If God do this to his inferiours, ought not we to do the like to our Superiours? this being a point of honour, and of respect, which to superiours from inferiours is much more due, than to inferiours from superiours: Many would do more good than they do, if the good they have done were more generally owned and incouraged.

Admit we should put the best construction the nature of the thing could bear, upon those actions of Rulers which seem liable to more constructions than one, would not that our candour oblige them? We hold our selves ingaged to those, that will make the best that can be made of what we say and do: *Charity believeth all things, hopeth all things*, (which there is any colour of reason to believe and hope) and charity questionless is due to superiours, as well as from them to inferiours. It was unkindly said by *Eliab* to his Brother *David*, *I know thy pride, and the haughtiness of thy heart, for thou art come down to see the battel*, 1 Sam. 17. 28. when indeed he came

upon no worse a design, than to bring provision to his Brethren from *Jesse* their Father, and by his Command. Overmuch jealousie expressed, doth but prompt and provoke men to those evil things which they did never before intend, and deter them from doing that good which they might, and would have done, if it had been manifestly expected from them. When *Paul* would invite *Agrippa* to the Faith, see how he insinuates, *Act. 26. 27. King Agrippa believest thou the Prophets, I know that thou believest. Then Agrippa said to Paul, almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.*

Ingenious persons are loth to frustrate that expectation of good which others have from them, and count it a point of gratitude, for the good opinion they have conceived of them, to fulfil what they expect. The smallness of our expectance from God is one reason why we receive no more good from his hand, (for saith God *open thy mouth wide and I will fill it*) and it may be a cause sometimes why men do no more for us. I am sure, mistrust sometimes brings that evil, which else had never come. So the *Israelites* mistrusting they should never get through the wilderness, was that which provoked God to let their carcasses fall there. They could not enter into the good land, and why? but because of their unbelief: There is doubtless a good medium betwixt being too suspicious, and too secure; and the less needlessly suspicious of them that govern us, and the more candid we are in construing their actions and intentions, the more we do, and shall oblige them. As the Apostle saith, *hast thou faith? have it to thy self*, so would I say to them that cannot quit their minds of disobliging fears, built upon but slender grounds, *hast thou fear (of that kind) have it to thy self, that is keepe it to thy self and*
do

do not provoke or disturb others with it.

Spare not to divulge, and manifest all the hopes that are, or can be in you, that persons in authority will not be wanting to the rebuilding of the City: cherish not the least suspicion to the contrary, so shall they be obliged to be as well by your expectation, implying a dependance upon their clemency, and goodness, as by the great importance of that design.

Shew a readiness to obey Rulers, and Governours in whatsoever you think you shall not disobey God. *Children obey your parents in all things*, Col. 3. 20. that is in all lawful things, for in *Eph. 6. 1.* there is added *in the Lord*. Magistrates are civil parents, and how can they chuse (if Christians) but love those people who never refuse, or boggle at any of their commands, but such as are really countermanded by their consciences? which to go against, were sin in them, though they were erroneous and misinformed. I wonder what Father having Sons and Daughters that would never displease him, but for fear of displeasing God, would not hold himself bound to do all he could for so obedient children.

Patience under those sufferings which men are not conscious to themselves they have deserved (as if it happen that men suffer for doing what conscience, their own I mean, bids them do) is another excellent way to win, and gain upon the hearts of Rulers, and to oblige them to do their utmost for those that are under their authority. This is a hard lesson, but the Holy Ghost teacheth it, *1 Pet. 2. 19, 20.* *For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. But if when ye do well, and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.* For this the example of Christ is proposed to us, *who when he was reviled (causelessly,)*

reviled not again, when he suffered, threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously, v. 23.

I would not that men should expose themselves to those sufferings which may without sin be avoided, for so to do is not patience but phrensy, not meekness but madness. Christ gave leave and order to his disciples, *if they were persecuted in one City to flie to another.* If men be injur'd against Law, they may flie to the Laws of their land to right them; but if the Law it self be against men, and seem to be injurious to them, there is no sin in flying from it, nor no lawful avoiding of it, ordinarily, but by flight, as there is no armour that can defend a Cannon bullet, or way to be out of the danger of it, but by keeping out of its way. But when the case is so that men cannot fly either to the Law (because against them) or from the Law, because their circumstances will not permit them so to do, (their wings are clipt) so that they are under a necessity of suffering to avoid sinning (at leastwise against their own consciences) I say when it is so with men (as the case is very ordinary) that the providence of God hath brought them under a necessity of suffering (as they think for righteousness sake) would they then imitate Christ who was *as a sheep dumb before the sheavers, he opened not his mouth, his voice was not heard in the streets, &c.* Would they instead of rendring evil for evil, *love their enemies, bless them that curse them, pray for them that use them despitefully* (as they interpret it) that were the likeliest way to make friends of them, whom they take for their foes, and to ingage them for, who have been ingaged against them. Who doth not remember *Saul's* words to *David*, *Thou art more righteous than I*, extorted by the clemency of *David* towards him, who might have avenged himself upon him

him and would not, who might have taken his life, and took but the lap of his garment. If sufferings fall short of undoing persons, and families, I may hope that patience I have pleaded for may be exercised, but if it come to that, I may rather wish than hope, that what I have said might take place. But let us rather think, that Christian patience exercised under lesser punishments, will so mollifie those by whom they are inflicted (for causes not altogether indisputable) that it will never come to that, yea that the enemies of such meek, and quiet sufferers, touched with the hardness of their case and softness of their Spirits, and especially by the hand of him who turneth the hearts of men, as the rivers of water which way he pleaseth, may become their friends, and do more for, than ever they have done against them. For patience under sufferings, the desert whereof is not so manifest, is (as I said at first) a most obliging thing, and apt to overcome the hearts of those by whom punishments are inflicted, and to provoke them to double kindness as it were by way of compensation.

That way of obliging Governors which cometh next to hand is by rendering honour to all, and every of them, proportionable to the dignity of their respective places, and consequently a superlative honour to them that are supreme in power. To do otherwise is a most provoking thing, as for instance it would be to give more respect to a private Colonel, and to ascribe greater things to him, than to him that were his General, and commander of the whole Army. *Saul* could never forget but did always stomack it, that they had sung in their dances that *Saul* had slain his thousands, but *David* his ten thousands: Whereas *Saul* was a King, and *David* then but a subject. He that would oblige his King

must honour him, as such, and what is that but to honour him more than any other man, and no other man so much as him: and that as he is his King; loyal honour, being like conjugal love, which then only is sincere, when it is superlative.

Contrary to that honour we owe to governors, not only as supreme, but as such, viz. as Governors though in a lower orb, is our doing any thing in such a way, and manner, as may imply a contempt of them, which to make shew of, is a most disobliging thing. Contempt ordinarily is not so much expressed in the matter of an action, as in the manner of doing, one man may steal in the most private way he can, meerely to satisfie his hunger, and in that theft of his, though the sin be great, no contempt of the Law, or Magistrate, is either expressed, or intended, but he that having mony enough, shall rob a judge, at noon day, knowing who he is, aggravates his offence by a manifest contempt of Law, and Justice. And here that rule holds true, *cum duo faciunt idem non est idem.*

Conscience may prompt men to some things, which for the matter of them, are a breach of humane lawes, and yet not to the doing of them in any such manner, as may be construed a contempt. Those that are sed by their judgments to baptize none but those that are at years of discretion, and to do it by burying their whole body for a time under water, may chuse such private times, and places for it, that though it be not altogether unknown they do such things, yet none can think themselves affronted, or intended to be affronted, and offended by what they do.

Magistrates cannot but take it kindly when those that do not keep some of their Laws, for fear of offending God, yet will not so break them neither,

as may needlessly offend them; so manifesting at once a reverent fear both of God and of the Magistrate, and that if it were possible they would please both. This way of obliging Rulers I commend to all dissenters, and to imitate that good woman who fearing to displease Christ, with touching the hem of his garment (though she meant well in the doing of it) came behind him, and would not have been known of it, if any thing could have been concealed from him to whom she did it.

What if men should turn a deaf ear to those flying rumors which tend to the disgrace of persons that are in Authority? would not that be one way to oblige them? Surely it is but our duty so to do: for when the question is put, *who shall abide in Gods tabernacle?* Pl. 15. 1. one answer is, *He that taketh not up a reproach against his neighbour,* v. 3. Moreover it is written, *1 Tim. 5. 19. Against an Elder receive not an accusation but before,* (or under, as it is in the margin) *two or three witnesses.* Witnesses upon Oath we may presume them to be which are there intended, and if under two, or three such, an accusation should not be received against an Elder, why should not as much respect be shewn to a Magistrate? We should not be swift to hear matters of that nature, but yet more slow to speak, deaf we should be in those cases, but yet more dumb. In stead of incouraging such stories as those, the Prophet brings in *Jer. 20. 10. Report say they and we will report:* we should put men in mind of the fifth Commandment, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother* (intended of political parents as well as natural) Now what Son that honoureth his Father, would take up a slight report against him, and report it again? nay, would not labour to silence and suppress all disgraceful rumours, of and concerning him,

him, though he knew them to be true? I dare say that Magistrates shall take them for their friends, and count themselves beholden to them, who shall do as much for them, though it be but their duty as I said before.

If those who in publick congregations are the mouthes of the people to God, would pray frequently, and fervently, and with all demonstration of reverence, and affection, for all that are in authority: and if the people (whose mouths they are) shall seem to be greatly affected with such petitions as are offered to God on the behalf of Magistrates, and to have an earnest passion for the accomplishment thereof, thereby they would greatly oblige their governours, and they also would resent it, as a great obligation, as in it self it is. This is but what by the command of God we are obliged to do, witness that text, *I exhort that prayers and supplications and intercessions be made for all men, for Kings and for all that are in authority,* 1 Tim. 2.1. It is happy for us that we may oblige our Rulers and satisfie our own obligation both under one. When Jesus wept for *Lazarus*, then said the Jews behold how he loved him, John 11. Will not Rulers infer we love them, if as Christ, in the dayes of his flesh, did offer up prayers with strong crying and tears: so we shall offer up such supplications as those on their behalf? but especially if with our petitions we shall commixe *thanksgivings* (namely for any mercy we enjoy under them) for so the Apostle exhorteth, 1 Tim. 2. 1.

A studiousness to please without flattery (as was the Apostles practise, 1 Cor. 10. 33.) and a seeking our things that may be acceptable to Governours (as we read that the preacher sought out acceptable words) and yet without sin, is another excellent way

way to oblige those that are in authority, to do all they can for us. He that shall watch an opportunity to do what may be pleasing to Rulers, and not displeasing to God, will find it one time or other. *Joseph* and *David* gave great content to those Princes whom they served, and yet maintained a good conscience, as being careful to do both. *David* sometimes could please *Saul*, so as no man better, viz. by playing upon his Harp in his presence, whereby it is said that *Saul* was refreshed, and the evil spirit departed from him, 1 Sam. 16. 23. and *Saul* saith of him, v. 22. *He hath found favour in my sight.* Honestly to please is the way to obtain favour, both with God and men, and that may be done, if not at one time, yet at another. *Rebekah* having observed her husbands diet, knew how to please his pallate; and to provide him savory meat, such as his Soul loved, and such as passed with him for the Venison he longed for, though it was no Venison: and so she got the blessing for her beloved *Jacob*. Doubtless *David* was glad of all opportunities to gratifie *Saul*, by playing on his Harp before him (so that *Saul* could not be more glad to hear his musick) let us in like manner rejoyce when we can make melody in the ears, and hearts of our Governours, by any thing that we can lawfully do. He is a wise son that makes a glad Father, and what will not a powerful Father do for that Son that makes him glad?

Let Rulers have all possible assurance given them, that the rebuilding of *London* shall not tend to their prejudice (as some have maliciously, and weakly objected) but to their great benefit, and advantage, that *London* if rebuilt will certainly be theirs, as submissive, and loyal, and ready to serve them as their hearts can wish. Were they not so before
the

the Fire? and why should we not think they will be so again? What mutiny and insurrection against the Government hath there been, ever since the return of his Majesty (that of *Venner*, and his complices excepted, whose number was exceeding small, and despicable) from one end of that City to the other?

Neither hath *London* contented it self with being only peaceable, and free from tumults since the Kings restauration, but upon all occasions approved it self a loyal, and loving City, particularly by their great loans of money, in reference to which, that expression in 2 *Cor.* 8. 2. may be reverently alluded to, *viz.* that *their deep poverty hath abounded to the riches of their liberality.*

But when all this is said, if Londoners know any other thing, or things, whereby they may render those that rule over them, yet more confident and more highly assured of their love, and loyalty, than by what they have done already, they are, or might be, let them have the security, besides the former; that they may be fully satisfied that in building a City for Londoners they build a *London* for themselves.

It is my humble, and earnest motion, that all that is lawful and possible to be done, to secure and fortifie the minds of our Rulers, against all suspicion, and jealousy of any the least disaffection in the people towards them, I say that all such things might be done; that they may as willingly intrust them with a new and famous City (carried on by their utmost countenance and assistance) as they themselves are willing to be so intrusted.

How do I long to see the day, in which Magistrates and People shall love one another, no less than indulgent parents, and good children use to do,

do; that Court and City, shall set themselves to promote the happiness each of other, should owe one another nothing but love, should alwayes be paying that debt, and yet confessing themselves to be still in debted as to that.

Concerning that mutual obligingness which was betwixt Solomon (the wisest of Kings, yea of men) and his people, we read in *Pf. 72. v. 12. He shall deliver the needy when he cryeth, the poor also and him that hath no helper.* This was spoken of Solomon in type, but of Christ as the antitype, that he should do thus for his people, but then in the 15. verse, it is said, *To him shall be given of the gold of Shebah; prayer also shall be made for him continually and daily shall he be praised:* which words expresse what the people should do for Solomon, how they should oblige him, who would be so obliging to them. Now what is prophecied as the result of Solomon and his people, thus vying which should oblige each other most; I doubt not to apply to our City of London, in reference to its great increase from its present small beginnings, under the encouragements of an obliged magistracy: *There shall be a bandful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains* (London is now as that bandful of corn) *the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon, and they of the City shall flourish like grass of the earth. v. 16.*

DISCOURSE XXIV.

That easing the burthens of Londoners (all that may be) till the City be finished would encourage the work.

Citizens may be pincht, and yet not think fit to cry out. They will bear more than they are well able, rather than seem unable to bear. Their credit is their livelihood; and that is their life. Some of them by making but a shew for the present, hope in time to get substance. Many are thought, since the Fire, to have made but few complaints, not out of plenty but policy; because it is their real interest to put the best side outermost. Many of their hearts are sad (as is believed) in the midst of laughter. It is our eye must affect our hearts with their condition, rather than our ears. They say little of it, but we may see much.

Can an Old man to whom the very grasshopper is a burthen, carry as great a weight as can a young porter? Could Sampson after his locks were cut, in which his strength lay, do as he had wont before? no more can Londoners who have lost their metropolis, their head City, do as they were able before one hair of that head was singed. May we not then hope and expect, that they who are called Gods, will in this case imitate him who is the true God, of whom it is said, Ps. 138. 14. *That he knoweth our frame and remembreth that we are dust?* Londoners at this day are not only dust, but dust in dust.

Here we must thankfully acknowledg the kindness of our Rulers in dispensing with Chimney-money, as to the City for so many years to come, which favour of theirs if duly resented, may possibly usher in more. When the Temple at Jerusalem

tem was to be built. *Artaxerxes* made a gracious decree touching the *Priests, Levites, Singers, Porters, Nathinims* or *Ministers* of the house of God, it should not be lawful to impose toll, tribute or custome upon them, *Ezra. 7. 14.* It must be left to the wisdom, and clemency of our Rulers to determine, how far forth the same kindness, or any other equivalent to it, shall be extended to those who have sustained the damage of burning, and must now be at the charge of building.

DISCOURSE XXV.

That to give a general content and satisfaction to men, or so far as it can be done, would help forward the City very much.

A General contentment would cause Religion to flourish, and consequently the City. For what saith *Solomon*, *Prov. 14. 34. Righteousness exalteth a nation*, and if a whole nation, a City much more, and in *Pf. 72. 3.* It is said, *The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by righteousness.* Now it being ordinary with scripture, by righteousness to express that which we call Religion, and by peace all manner of prosperity, and rational in this place to understand it so, I have by the mouth of two witnesses proved (and easy it were to do it by many more) that if a general satisfaction would promote Religion, it would also promote the City,

And now my business is to prove, that an universal contentment would be much to the furtherance and advancement of Religion; and the want thereof would hinder the growth and increase of Religion, as much as any one thing, and consequently impede

impede the building and exalting of the City. For *Contrariorum contraria est ratio*, contrary causes have contrary effects, &c.

The Apostle speaks of *godliness with contentment as great gain*, and usually they go together, and so ordinarily do ungodliness, and discontent: What but discontent made *Jobs* Wife most blasphemously counsel him to *curse God and die*? The same made *Fonas* so irreligious for the time, as to say unto God *I do well to be angry even to the death*. David himself (as the text tells us) was displeased because the Lord had made a breach upon *Uzza*, 2 Sam. 6. 8. And against whom was that his displeasure, but against him that made the breach which was God himself? yet more strange are those expressions, *Isa. 8. 21. It shall come to pass that when they shall be hungry they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God and looke up*. Treason and blasphemy both in a breath, and all from discontent, like to that we meet with, *Rev. 16. 21. And men blasphemed God because of the Plague of the Hail, for the Plague of the hail was exceeding great*.

A troubled sea will cast up little else but dirt and mire. Sick bodies are not so fit for the service of God as those that are in health, so neither are sick minds; and such are all discontented ones. Divines observe, that men of melancholy complexions are most tempted to Atheism, and Blasphemy, and experience telleth us, that in times of most discontent, those sins do most abound, for discontent and melancholy go together.

In discontented breasts there is envying and strife, and where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work, James 3. 16. *Elisba* having been disturbed at the sight of *Jehoram* could not prophesy till he had called for a minstrel to help to compose

his Spirit, 2 Kings 3. 16. Religion as well as prophesying, calleth for a composed and a sedate mind. God was not in the whirlwind, nor in the earthquake, but in the still voice. It is a proverb, that *Inter arma silent leges*, humane laws are but little observed in a time of war, and it is as true of the laws of God, as of men. The noise of drums, and trumpets useth to drown the still voice of Religion. In times of discontent, Atheism is wont to swarm like flies in summer; and those that were never tainted with it before, are subject then to be fly-blown more or less. Vexation drew forth those daring words from him that said, *This evil is of the Lord, what should I wait for the Lord any longer?* 2 Kings 6. 33.

Discontent is rats-bane to Religion, I mean rank poison. A little of it will destroy a particular duty, and a great deal will shake the very foundations of that grace that is in any of us. *Moses* when vexed brake both the tables of the law, though made of stone. Discontents are some of those thorns which indanger the choaking of all good seed. Religion is a service reasonable, but discontent and oppression, do make men mad. Many Suns are wont to go down upon the wrath of discontented persons, and therefore they must needs give place to the Devil, Eph. 4. 26. and what, mean time, becomes of their Religion.

Methinks I cannot say enough, to make the world sensible of that vast prejudice which redounds to Religion by the generality of men being discontented, and out of humor, to the end men may labor to prevent, or cure it, both in themselves and others. The Psalmist saith why do the heathen rage? and from sad experience it may be said, that to make men rage, or cutragious, is one of the readiest ways to make them heathens. Such as are despe-

rately discontented, use not to care either what they say, or what they do; no not against themselves, witness *Achitophel*, no not against God, *Isa.* 8. 21. Therefore it was that Satan desired of God, to touch all that *Job* had, and (said he) *he will curse thee to thy face*, *Job.* 1. 11. If he curse thee not to thy face, it is in the margent, *q. d.* if he do not I am deceived, and so he was: but knowing the manner of other men, he thought he could not forbear to curse God, when his affliction was so very great. Though one sort of poor are said to receive the Gospel (that is more generally than others;) yet those that are poor unto beggery, pinch't with cold, and hunger, are too well known to be generally as vile as any sort of men, and as void of the least appearance of Religion (which made *Agar* to deprecate poverty) and probable it is, that their being greatly male content may be the principal reason.

It cannot be denied but that we ought to be bettered by miseries, as well as by mercies, and to learn obedience by the things which we suffer and it is often so that when the troubles of men are but moderate they do them good, and not hurt; but when men are whipt with Scorpions, when their punishments are greater than they can bear, then corrupt nature discovers its self, as naturalists say in another sense, *Vexata natura prodit seipsam.*

I could never yet see that deep melancholy, and high discontent was a proper soil for Religion to thrive in, but rather the quite contrary. *Saul* when at his wits ends, betook himself to the witch of *Endor*, and too many are of his mind that said, *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.* They will address to Hell, if they cannot prevail with Heaven. They that look upon their condition to be a kind of

of Hell upon Earth, will scarce refrain blaspheming, as they do that are in Hell. A general discontent is an axe laid to the root of Religion. What Religion can there be, where there is no love? what love can there be to God, or men, when there is no contentment with the providence of the one, or practises of the other? Gods dispensations, and mens dealings, are so interwoven, that men are seldom angry with the latter, but they are so with the former, because the hand of divine providence is in all the dealings of men (though in such a manner as to be no whit accessary to the unrighteousness of any of them.) How oft is God less loved than otherwise he would be for mens sake, and for the sake of those misdoings, whereby they become hated? and all because his providence is known to concur (but in a most justifiable way) with all the proceedings of men.

Wizards, Witches, and Devils, shall be the last instances, I will now produce of the sad fruits of prevailing discontent, as to the extirpating of all Religion. Devils we justly account the worst of all creatures, Wizards and Witches the worst, and farthest from Religion of any sort of men and women; now Wizards and Witches are commonly deemed the most discontented parcel of mankind, as well as the worst; and Devils which are something worse than Witches themselves, yet more discontented than they.

How do I therefore long for Religion sake to see an end of Discontents, that some men would take care to give less offence, and others would take no more than becomes them. Methinks that same is no ill proverb, *Anything for a quiet life*. If any reason will satisfie men, for Gods sake, for religions sake, let satisfaction be given them, either in

whole, or in part, lest the worm of discontent, perfectly wither the goard of our Religion, and for want of that blessed shade, expose us to the scorching heat of the wrath of God.

England is in a high feaver, (that feaver is discontent) how rough and how black are the tongues of men? how restless are they day and night? how do they fling and throw and start, and sigh and groan, and talk many times as they that know not what they say? how many seem near unto a phrensy, if they be not in one already? All this while it must be ill with the heart of *England* (and what is the heart and Soul of a Nation, but the Religion thereof?) was ever man in a feaver and his heart unconcerned, or not disordered thereby, as much or more than any other part?

Now for a *David* with his Harp, to lay the evil spirit of discontent, now for some musical harmony (though made up of discords, to cure the venomous bitings of that strange *Tarantula* (discontent I mean) which makes men moan, and wail, and cry out, of which disease nothing will cure men, but that which will make them leap and dance, (rejoyce I mean) as it is in the cure of those that are bitten by a true *Tarantula*. When that cure shall be wrought, then may we hope Religion will flourish as the Palm-tree, and grow as the Cedars in Lebanon, and London together with it.

How conducing contentment is to the practise of godliness *David* seems to intimate, when he saith, Deliver me from the oppression of men, so will I keep thy precepts. *Pf.* 119. v. 134. When the primitive Christians did eat their meat with gladness, and had favour with all the people, then were there added to the Church daily such as should be saved, *Acts* 2. 46, 47. and in *Act.* 9. 31. it is thus written. Then had the Churches

do rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the holy Ghost were multiplied. When the Church had content from within, and from without (and there is the same reason for other societies) then it grew and multiplied. The same thing without a spirit of prophesy more than ordinary, may be foretold of London.

DISCOURSE XXVI.

That the continuance of peace, begun with forreign Nations, might much promote the rebuilding of the City.

IF God continue peace, we may have more Palaces within our walls, and prosperity within our Pallaces. But if peace discontinue so is our City like to do: never had we more need of peace both at home and abroad, then now; that we have a City to build. It is as much as we can do to build with peace, and how should we build without it? Farewel peace, farewell building.

A relapse into war (which would be worse then the first disease) would put us upon making bullets instead of bricks, tents instead of houses, and instead of hiring artificers, to press Souldiers.

Methinks I hear the enemies of our City saying, now for a war to crush it in its infancy. *Herod-like* who destroyed all the children that were under two years old. Would but the *French King* be reconciled to the *King of Spain*, how bravely might his Army, (or some good part of it,) help to destroy this Cokatrice egge? Thus men of an evil eye towards the City of *London*, do say in their hearts: but they that wish it well, do now pray for peace

more earnestly than ever, are much more thankful for the peace begun, than otherwise they would have been with respect to *London* now rising out of its ashes, do dread the thoughts of that flame of War breaking out again (at leastwise till *London* be up again) which is for the present smothered, and we hope extinguished. How inconsistent fighting and building are one with the other, may be gathered from *1 Kings 5. 3.* *David could not build a house to the name of the Lord his God, for the wars that were about him on every side, till the Lord put them under the soles of his feet. But now the Lord hath given me rest on every side (saith Solomon) I purpose to build a house to the name of the Lord my God, v. 4. and 5.*

DISCOURSE XXVII.

*That lessening the price of Coals would
inconrage building.*

I Cannot charge them that trade in Coals with holding up the price, higher than they needs must, and contriving wayes and methods to make them dear, but they cannot be ignorant that some do so charge them, and if it be so, indeed they are much to blame, at such a time as this especially; and as the latine proverb is *nigro carbone digni*. To deny us coals at this juncture, (and to make them over-dear is half a denial of them) is in effect to withold straw from them that should make brick.

It is fit that when war ceaseth, we should tast the fruits of peace, (as particularly in the cheapness of so necessary a commodity, as Coals are) else how should we be thankful for it? the community ought not to be impoverished, that a few men may be enriched.

If

If care be taken (as I hope there will) that the quantities of Coals imported, should be as much greater now than formerly, as is the occasion we have for them, more than it had wont to be, that our store may rather exceed than fall short, plenty will bring down the price ; and yet I wish it not so low neither, but that they who deal in the commodity may live by it. Give me leave to say, that men in subordinate authority, have been more severely reflected upon than I shall venture to tell, as void of care and prudence, or both, in not preventing that dearth of coals, which beset us the last year, it being then the common cry, that the nation could almost as well subsist without corn, as without coals. God forbid we should ever commit such another oversight.

If Coals be dear, bricks cannot be cheap, neither will they be good (that is well-burnt) but if coals be cheap, bricks will not be dear ; neither are they like to be bad. Were coals a forreign commodity, yea were they no where to be had but from an enemies country, it is thought some people are so wise, that if their circumstances were like ours, they would be sure to have them.

God having planted coals within our own bowels (territories I mean) and made the womb of our soile so far from barren that some part thereof is even loaded with them, should *London* be retarded through the scarcity thereof, *England* would seem hardned, and to have shut up its bowels against it self, considering that *England* doth not want for swift and able messengers to send upon that errand. May coals in our time, and City, be but so plentiful, and so common, as silver was in *Jerusalem* in the dayes of *Solomon*, 1 Kings 10. 21. *Silver was nothing accounted of in the dayes of Solomon.* and v. 27

And the King made silver to be in Jerusalem as the stones.

DISCOURSE XXVIII.

That the extirpation of fears and jealousies (which sadly abound) might contribute much to the building of the City.

IT goes to my heart to think, how people are tormented, (or torment themselves) with endless fears, and jealousies. They are ever and anon in such frights, as if *Hanibal* were at the gates. How do they start like melancholy people out of their sleeps, scared with sad dreams? Damps arise upon men (as they are said to do upon those that work in coal-mines.

I would be no fomenter of such fears, but am thought rather too sanguine, too credulous of good news, and scarce in the number of those wise men, of whom *Solomon* saith, *that they foresee the evil and hide themselves*. I had rather (as is said of *Abraham*) in hope believe against hope, than be too suspicious, at least-wise than to make others so.

It may be some envious men have sowed these tares, I mean some that envy, and malign the building of the City, and do desire to obstruct it by making people afraid. For men are so possessed (I know not by whom) (*my Soul enter not thou into their secrets*) that they cry out: we shall ere long be invaded by the French, & other while we shall be massacred by the help of those disaffected foreigners which (say they) do swarm amongst us, another while they cry we shall be burnt again: what pannick fears are these?

I wish we could cut the head of this *Nilus*, those fears I mean which like another *Nilus* overflow the land, but whence they spring I know not: whether the cause be that people are hardly come to themselves, since the great and dreadful fire, or that our great surprise at *Chattam*, hath brought these fears upon men; or that those many lesser fires, which have hapned since the great one, have produced a habit of fear, or all of these together, or whither (as I said at first) some do make it their business to terrifie *Londoners*, that they may have no heart to build. It is hard to say which of these are the true cause. But that which I mentioned last was the course which the enemies of *Jerusalem* took to hinder the building thereof, *Neh. 6. 9. They all made us afraid saying, their hand shall be weakened from the work that it be not done,* and *v. 29. Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.*

But let the cause be what it will, it is fit the cure should be thought of: For fears and jealousies have been of pernicious consequence, and may be so again. Parents cannot indure to have their children frightened, lest it bring them to convulsions, or make sots of them. None so cruel as cowards, or frightened persons, because they are most impatient till they have made sure of their enemies, *Desperation turns to valour.*

It hath always been held good policy to secure a people against fears and jealousies, though they were such as did arise from their own mistakes, and weakness. *Achitophel* taught *Abfalom* to make the people sure of him, that he never would or could be reconciled to his Father *David*, and so leave them in the lurch, by counselling him to lye with his Fathers Concubines, in the sight of the people, *2 Sam. 16. 20.*

Was

Was it not a meer jealousie and misapprehension which the Jews had entertained concerning Paul? viz. *As if he taught the Jews which were amongst the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs,* Acts, 21. 21. yet Paul was advised to take it off (and did v. 26) *We have four men which have a vow on them. Them take and purifie thy self with them, and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law,* v. 23, 24. God himself (such is his condescension to this kind of weakness in men) hath provided all that may be against those groundless fears, and jealousies, as touching himself, and the satisfying of his promise (which is impossible for him to do) which our mis-giving hearts might expose us to. And therefore it is that he hath confirmed his promise with an oath, Heb. 6. 18. *God willing more abundantly (it was indeed ex abundanti for him so to do) to shew the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath,* v. 19. *That by two immutable things we might have strong consolation.*

But the great difficulty will be, to shew how and by what means the fears, and Jealousies of men (those terrible names sounding like Gog and Magog) may be prevented or extirpated.

To indeavour to tye the tongues of men, that whatsoever they think, they should say nothing, would be a fruitless attempt, for out of the abundance of mens hearts their mouthes will speak. That were at most but like the mowing of weeds, without plucking them up by the roots, which weeds would certainly spring again, faster than ever they did before.

To tell men they have had many false alarms will
not

not satisfie them neither, for so souldiers use to serve their enemies before they fall upon them in good earnest; and so the sheep in the fable heard it often said that the Wolf was coming, when he was not: but yet he came at last when he was not lookt for. Some more effectual remedy must therefore be thought of, against the dangerous, and contagious disease of fears, and Jealousies, than were either of the two former.

Were I worthy to cast in a mite of advice in so arduous a case (which had more need of a *Priest to stand up with Urim and Thummim* to direct in it) I would say as followeth.

One way to take of fears and jealousies, would be by manifesting an universal, and impartial love to all sober, peaceable and deserving persons, even from *Dan to Beer/sheba* without respect of persons, or parties, upon any other considerations. It is as natural for men to fear those that they think do hate them, as it is to hate those they are afraid of. If one part of a nation be Archers armed with bows and arrows, and another look upon it self as not beloved, and therefore aimed at, so long fears and jealousies will continue; whereas on the other hand we use to say, we could put our lives into their hands of whom we are confident that they do truly love us.

If persons who are both in, and under authority, (as was the Centurion we read of) (who are indeed the eyes and hands of Princes) would please to manifest a constant care, and zeal for the publick good, suffering nothing to be wanting on their part, that might conduce to publick safety, giving no advantage to forreign or intestine enemies, by their cowardize, covetousness or carelessness, committing no gross miscarriages and oversights

sights, (like careless servants that leave their masters doors wide open in the night time, that who will may come in and steal, if they will see that all be safely bolted and barred from time to time) I say if they please to do so, by that means for one; they may disperse fears and jealousies, as the Sun doth scatter mists. *Timothy* is much commended *Phil. 2. 20.* For that he did naturally care for the state of others, and they that shall do so, and be known so to do, will never be suspected, they will adde to the hope and confidence of a nation, but never to their fears and jealousies.

There is no better prevention, or cure of fears, and Jealousies, than to win the hearts love, and affections of a people, otherwise subject thereunto: men are as unapt to fear those whom they greatly love, as they are to love those whom they are greatly afraid of: love is fearful of nothing but to offend, *Perfect love casteth out fear, viz.* All that fear which hath torment accompanying it; and needs it must do so, because it is founded in and upon the assurance of their love, whom we so love. The Apostle saith of charity, or love, that *it is not easily provoked, that it thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but in the truth, believeth all things, hopeth all things,* 1 Cor. 13. Those very things that bring, or shall bring on love, will carry off fears, and jealousies.

One good way to be trusted by others, is to trust others, so far as in reason we may, Jealousies beget Jealousies, and some men will not, or cannot trust, because they are not trusted, as far as they think they might or deserve to be. It is commonly found, that men are jealous of those that are jealous of them, for men are jealous of those that they believe do not love them, and they do not believe they can love them, who are much jealous of them. For
perfect

perfect fear will cast out love, as perfect love doth fear. On the other hand confidence begets confidence: it is an usual argumentation amongst men, why should not we put confidence in such and such, as well as they put confidence in us? as if it were a piece of gratitude, and but justice to trust those that trust us. Whereas on the other hand, men that will take no assurance from others, but what is more than enough, or than they can give; will be able to give no assurance to others that will be taken, and so jealousies will be endlessly propagated by way of retaliation.

As good a receipt as any of the former for the cure of fears and jealousies is this, *viz.* that persons who have the unhappiness to be generally suspected, and ill beloved, (though possibly they may not deserve it) should have as little of the safety, and welfare of a nation committed to them as can well be, forasmuch as the spirit of jealousy, presently comes upon people, when those whom they are greatly prejudiced against (as being of a contrary religion, or otherwise) are chosen to places of eminency, either military or civil. An eye should be had to those who keep others in fear, as they that give out threatening words, causing the persons threatned to go in fear of their lives, are or may be, bound to their good behaviour.

Lastly, If the heats and indiscretions of some men were lookt after, who sometimes seem to symbolize with Papists in their peculiar doctrines, and then the people by such preaching alarm'd, cry out with a loud voice *Venient Romani*, and who other whiles exasperate their hearers with bitter invectives, putting them thereby into an expectation of nothing but trouble, and persecution to ensue after so threatening expressions, I say if men might
not

not be suffered to harp upon those strings wherby an evil spirit is not laid but raised, or were narrowly watcht, that they should no where turn pulpits into cock-pits, and come directly, and intentionally not to bring peace, but a sword, a drawn sword, instead of an Olive branch, but more especially if Ministers would every where come as persons sent of God *to bring good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken hearted, to comfort all that mourn, &c.* By that means would the exasperations of mens minds be gradually taken off, and their fears and jealousies begin to go off, like the *morning Cloud*, and as the *early dew*.

Woe unto us that at this day we are all afraid one of another, and woe unto them that study to encrease our fears. When shall such a promise be made good to us, as that in *Micah. 4. 4.* *But they shall sit every man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid.*

DISCOURSE XXIX.

That if the dread and terror of the Popish party, which is upon the people were taken off, the building of the City would thereby be much encouraged.

PApists must not be knockt on the head because the people are afraid of them, neither ought their estates therefore to be confiscated, or themselves generally confined, much less for that only reason, should they all be exiled from their Native Country. Some of them I believe would do others no hurt if they could; all should, and may be disabled from any such thing if they would: This may be done, and yet they not be undone.

Certain

Certain it is, that Papists at this day are a very center of jealousy, in and upon whom the fears of all English Protestants, of what perswasion soever, do meet : Is it because the blood that was shed in the *Marian* daies doth still cry aloud in the ears of men as well as of Heaven ? or is it because the Invasion attempted upon *England* in Eighty Eight is not yet forgotten ? or is it because the *Parisian* Massacre will not out of mens minds ? or is it because the most hellish Powder Plot (upon the accomplishment of which we celebrate each fifth of *November*) doth still stick in mens stomachs ? or is it long of that most devillish Tragedy which was acted by the Papists in *Ireland* upon the Innocent Protestants, within less than thirty years past, causing the streets to swim with their blood ? or is it because *London* was lately so suddenly and strangely burnt, and Papists known to insult and triumph when it was done, besides other suspicious passages of theirs relating thereunto, as namely their predictions concerning it, &c. or is it all of these put together that do make Papists so formidable to Protestants in *England* ?

Some rather than be thought to fear where no fear is, would be ready to give many more reasons of the fear that is in them, to every one that should ask them why they are so much afraid of Papists. First, their hatred to Protestants by the forementioned instances appeareth to be great, and implacable ; then they would tell you, that many Families of that Religion in *England* are very considerable for their estates, parts, and otherwise. Next, that they are great pretenders unto having highly merited (as from God, so from men) above others, if not to works of Supererrogation, which is as if they challenged it as their due to be uppermost.

most. How politick, how vigilant, and how restless a people they are, all men know; how they compass Sea and Land to carry on their designs! The men of their Religion seem to have a particular spite at *England*, and an ambition to subdue it to themselves, rather than any other Nation; as he said, *Fight neither against great nor small, but, &c.* so they seem to say, but against *England*.

We should not fear them (say they) but that we know what Religion *France* and *Spain* are of, and can have no assurance that they will not, one time or other, crave aid (at leastwise of so near a Neighbour as one of them is) rather than fail of their designs: What should hinder them from so doing, who profess to the world that they do owe more homage to a forreign Prince (*viz.* the Pope) than to their own, and that the Pope is Supreme Head over all temporal Princes, and consequently can supersede the Laws of any other Prince, and give away their Crowns and Scepters when and to whom he pleaseth? If then the Pope shall command them to joyn with, or invite in a Forreign Prince against their own Sovereign, according to that principle, it is but their duty to do it. Now who can but fear a people of so desperate, subverting principles?

Be secure of Papists (say some) we never can, for no cords can be thought of wherewith to bind them fast: Their oaths are not to be regarded, seeing it is their principle, that *no faith is to be kept with Hereticks*, and such they count Protestants. They are so great assertors of the doctrine of Equivocation, and so great Masters in the practise thereof, that give them what oath you will, they make what they please of it in their mental reservations, they put in and put out what they list, and interpret every thing to their own sense, and having so done, what

is any body the nearer (*viz.* to safety and security) for any oath they take? Come the worst to the worst they hold, that the Pope hath a power of dispensing with oaths, either that men may take those oaths which before-hand they resolve not to keep, at leastwise that he can pardon them (and will do it) if they break the oaths that they have taken.

It were endless to rehearse all the reasons men give why they are afraid of the Popish party: who knows not (say they) that all things are lawful in their account, which make for the interest and promotion of holy Church (as they call it?) the stamp of so good an intention put upon the worst of actions, be it lying, perjury, murther, rebellion, devastation of whole Countries, is (according to them) able to make what had otherwise been damnable, to become meritorious: He that shall assassinate a King in zeal for their Religion, may be canonized for a Saint. O Religion, ever to be dreaded by those that are not of it, as being resolved to propagate it self every where, both by secret plots, and open violence, by fire and sword, by fraud and force, *per fas & nefas*: By hook and by crook (as they say) as if none were worthy to live but they that would imbrace a Religion so false and ridiculous, (so far as it is it self) as nothing can be more.

Methinks I am tired with hearing so many reasons alledged for one and the same thing, a thing so generally believed, *viz.* that there is just ground to be afraid of Papsts, and of their designs, but would I listen to more, some would further tell me, that the great Agitators for Popery, *Jesuites*, and such like, do insinuate themselves into all parts of Christendome; first trouble the waters of every State, and then fish in them, make Profelites up and

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down,

down, undermine the Councils of Protestant Princes, that those Pioneers are alwayes working underground, and indanger all Kingdoms where they come: Also, that there are multitudes of them here, and there, in several disguizes, the effects of whose pernicious attempts we may yearly, if not daily expect.

That Papists are still too hard for those severe Laws that are in being against them, so that they (or most of them) come not under the lash thereof, from moneth to moneth, and year to year, whilst the Laws made against others do find them out continually, and punish their smaller transgressions; I say, that they escape the *Ordeal* of Laws, whilst others ever and anon do burn their feet upon the hot plow-shares which are laid for them, doth much encrease the fears of men concerning them.

Now they that have a fear and dread of Papists upon them, having all this to say, (and yet having not said all) do think it hard measure to be taxed with childishness, cowardize, and effeminacy, for entertaining a jealousy of Popish designs, and cannot be otherwise perswaded by any verbal arguments.

Nevertheless, I am deceived if there be not a way to relieve Protestants against all their fears of Papists, and yet not to deprive Papists either of their lives, or estates, or liberties, or Native Soil, or any thing else which by Law or birth they have a right to, nor yet alwayes, and in all cases, to execute upon all, and every of them, the full rigour of those Laws which are at this day in force against them.

Who but themselves will be offended, if it be in the first place propounded, that the Popish party throughout *England* should be generally disarmed?
that

that is, deprived of all weapons, horses, arms, ammunition, &c. which they have, or may have by them, more than is just sufficient for the defence of their respective families, against the breaking in of Thieves and Robbers. A Massacre committed by Protestants upon Papists was never heard of, and therefore they need not fear it, nor can reasonably desire to abound with arms, in order to the prevention of it: If men have arms enough for their own security, what should they do with more to scare, if not indanger others? How greatly would the fears of men be allayed, if but that one thing were done? *Ireland that Aceldama, that field of blood*, can tell us how unfit Papists are to be intrusted with arms.

I wish if those rumors be false, that great and unusual numbers of forreign Papists have lately come for *England*, I say if they be false, that the people might be generally assured and convinced they are so; but if they be true, (which is more than I can say they are) that some due bounds may be set to foraging a Sea, least a deluge of fears and suspicions, if not of misery and destruction also, should from thence overwhelm us.

It hath been complained of in and to the Parliament, since *London* was in the dust, that many Papists in several parts of *England* have behaved themselves very insolently (as one of their eloquent mouths hath told us in a Speech of his extant in print) that certainly would and did strike terror into the people; nor can those terrours be taken off, unless that insolency of theirs be corrected, for which there need no better curb and cure, than the strict execution of the severest Laws that are in being against men of that Religion, I do not mean, or wish upon all of them (for I understand not the

justice of punishing all that are of such a way for the faults that are committed but by some of them) but upon as many as have, or shall be found guilty of such amusing insolency, either in words or deeds: It is fit some Corrosive should be applied to such proud flesh, but not laid upon that flesh which is not proud, though of the same body: The *summum jus*, or utmost rigour of the Laws made against Papists, would be no injury to them that terrifie others by their insolency, what ever it might be to the rest, as in some cases it would not be harsh to take the full forfeiture of a Bond, though it would be so in some others. If the *Hugonites* in *France* should behave themselves insolently (which they never dare to do, being not of the Religion of the Country) we know what would follow. A restraint upon the insolencies of Papists, would be no small restraint upon the fears of Protestants.

I wish as little power as may be in the hands of Papists, for that experience tells us, if persons so accounted (though not certainly known to be such) be chosen to any place or places of considerable trust, it presently openeth the peoples mouths, and fills them as full of fears as they can hold. Power is a kind of armour, and men may be armed with power as formidably, as with iron weapons. We read of certain beasts, *Dan. 7. 12. They had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged.* There is not a quiet Papist in *England*, but I with his life might be spared, yea, and his lawful way of livelihood; that if a man of an estate, he might enjoy it, his Religion notwithstanding, if a Tradesman, he might be free to buy, and sell, and merchandize, as well as other men; and if he may do so, to be deprived or debarred of power and arms, will be but an easie suffering (if it be any at all)

all) and I am sure much more for a publick good, than to their private damage: no reason they should be elected to power, who would be an incouragement to evil doers, and a terror to them that do well: one way for people to have dominion over their fears, is for Papists in a Kingdome, whose King, and Laws are protestant, to have no dominion over the people.

Yet I am really for it, that setting aside power, and Armes, they should enjoy every thing else so long as they are peaceable, for to strip them of their estates and livelihoods, or lawful wayes of subsisting, meerely for their religion sake, were unjust, inhumane, and the way to make them desperate. Starving, or almost starving of persons and families, is next to cutting of throats, and therefore God forbid that Papists themselves should be so served: let them have power to do good to themselves, but none to do hurt to others, then may Papists live happily, and Protestants securely.

The manifestation of much zeal to hinder the growth of Popery it self, would be one good way to secure the minds of men, against the fear, and dread of Papists.

It would take off the chariot wheels of popery, or make it drive on heavily, if first of all, Ministers, and other learned men, were excited and incouraged to write and preach against the most considerable, and dangerous tenets of the Papists, sparing their persons, whilst they oppose their errors, and so not contending against love, though they contend earnestly for the Faith. One I have heard of (a person of worth and learning far above the rate of his years) who was put upon this work by some great authority, and hath discharged it excellently well, and brought forth an Elephant (for so

I call his book for the size of it) in less than halfe the time that Elephants are said to go with their young. There are also two other pregnant Divines (no old men neither) who have each of them given us an iliad in a nutshell, a mass of Divinity and reason against popish doctrines within a small compass, who as I am told have from persons of eminency received many thanks for the same, and very good encouragement. Were there many more that could come up to the first three, as champions against popery, and were they in all parts of *England* put upon it and quickned, we might hope that popery would dwindle amongst us every day till at last it come to nothing.

Whosoever shall set himself to oppose the growth and spreading of popery in *England*, will much promote this design, by suppressing, or preventing all such books in our native tongue, as have lately come forth, or are coming forth in favour of that Religion. Those of more ancient date are so much dispersed already, that there can be no recalling them, and besides that, men will hardly read them more than they have done, whereas a new book for the novelty sake, and in expectation of some new thing that hath not been said before, will have many readers. Popish arguments are not so weighty but that we dare let schollars peruse them, and therefore I have said nothing of the suppression of those popish books which are in the latine tongue, but only in the English, lest comon, and ignorant people should thereby be seduced. Now Papists of all men ought not to quarrel with us, if we deny the common people the use of their books, in their mother tongue, as being unsafe for them, sith they withhold the book of God, the holy scriptures from the Laity under pretence of their being in danger

to wrest the same to their own destruction. If truth can hurt men what will not error do? A heedful suppression of all Novel English popish books, would be greatly to the suppression of all popular fears, as with respect to Papists.

We have severe Laws (if I mistake not) against those persons *who compass sea and land to make people Profelytes to the Romish religion, making them thereby two-fold more the children of hell than themselves,* at leastwise in this respect, that they perswade them to believe those gross errors, which they have more wit than to believe themselves, so binding heavy burthens upon others which they themselves will not touch with the least of their fingers. I think the law is wont to accuse: and indict them, as for seducing the Kings Subjects from their Allegiance, which to do is a great crime, but do they not also seduce men from their Allegiance to the King of Kings? These are a seed of evil doers, and must be look't a ter: Ants do bite the corn which they carry to their mole-hills to the end it may not sprout again, so far forth, I wish them bitten. It is too much that they take upon them to make a God or Idol of Wafers, let them not make fools, or which is worse, Idolaters of men. Let them not by their meats (or poisons rather) destroy those for whom Christ died. As long as Papists have liberty for themselves, and their families, they have little reason to complain, if they have no liberty to make other families such as themselves. If seducing Jesuits be narrowly watcht and punished, both the fear of Papists, and popery it self will be much diminished.

What a buzzing is there in the ears of people concerning some preachers (no professed Papists neither) who seem to affect the language of *Ashdod*,

and to the great amusement of people, make their pulpits echo to *Rome* ever and anon. Who speak sometimes at such a rate, as if they had a Pope in their belly, or had a mind to appear as popishly affected as they durst. The lashers out of popery, are the men who have all along fomented the Jealousies of the people, and made them fear they should be over-run with Papists, as the fluggards ground is said to be with weeds. If such men were taught either to preach more honestly and orthodoxly, or else for ever hereafter made to hold their peace, the justice done them might greatly abate the peoples fears, as their heterodoximony have inflamed them.

Whilst Papists play least in sight, I mean whilst the exercise of their Religion is very obscure and private, so long that proverb is made good *What the eye seeth not the heart rueeth not*, but if it should chance to shew its head in publick; if it came forth like a bridegroom, out of his chamber deckt and trimmed, to take the eyes of its beholders, if it come forth with its luscious musick, tempting the people to dance after it; then will the mouths of mens fears, and complaints also, be wide opened, then will they suspect it will bear down all before it. Sith then their Religion is impure, and the people extremely jealous of them, and it, let them with the *Adulterer seek the twilight, yea the black and dark night*. Let them steal their waters (if they will have any) and eat their bread in secrecie, so it may be as sweet to them, and not so bitter, and vexatious to others; so shall they not need to fear others, neither will others be afraid of them.

? Lastly, if there shall appear a forwardness in those whom it concerns, to make as much as can be

made of all hints, and intimations given them of danger impending from the designs of Papists, I say if all such informations, shall from time to time be sifted to the very bran, and the very bottom of them dived into (that they may despair of ever carrying any design undiscovered, and hid under slight pretences) thereby will the hearts of men be greatly secured against the fears of Papists, being so dealt with as the Psalmist prays that wicked men might be, when he saith, *Pf. 10. 15. Search out his wickedness till thou find none*, i. e. no more. The more zealously magistrates do, or shall expresse of Papists, the less will the people be afraid of them. When Magistrates are awake and watchful, people will venture to lye down and sleep.

The fifth of *November* Plot had certainly taken effect, if King *James* had not been possessed with a great jealousy of Papists and their designs, which led him to such an interpretation of that letter whereby he found it out; as others did not give, nor himself would otherwise have given: so that fear and suspicion are (as we see) good keyes to open the cabinet counsels of Papists; and but for them we had been lost long ere this.

I deceive my self if I have not now treated of one of the most singular expedients whereby to incourage the English nation to any worthy undertaking, and particularly, that of rebuilding the City, viz. by securing the minds of men against that fear, and dread of Papists, and of their designs (which is so generally upon them) that being once done, (as I have propounded the best, and most moderate ways that I know for the doing of it) men will go forward with their work, like giants refreshed with wine, mighty to run their race.

DISCOURSE XXX.

That to be thankful to God, and men, for the good beginnings of a new City, is one good way to perfect it.

WE are doubly indebted for that part and proportion of another *London*, be it a tenth, or whatsoever it is, which we see already: First to the great God, of whom it is said *Pf. 127. 1. Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it.* Nextly, and subordinately, to men for whatsoever they have contributed thereunto, by their advice, authority, bounty, industry, or otherwise; and particularly for that excellent, and prudent Act of Parliament, which was quickly made in the case, besides an additional Bill for that purpose, which had passed the honourable House of Commons, and seemed to meet with no obstruction in the honourable House of Lords, but want of time to pass it: and which we doubt not, when the two houses shall come together again, will be readily agreed to, and made into an Act.

How noble a precedent of thankfulness for a good beginning (and no more) is that we read of, *Exra 3. 10. And when the builders laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord, they set the Priests and the Levites to praise the Lord, v. 11. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the Lord because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid.* Though the ancient men who had seen the first, did weep at the same time with a loud voice (because the latter was not to be compared with the former;) yet the rest of the people gave thanks, and shouted for joy. And certainly they took a right course to have another Temple brought to perfection, in being so thankful

thankful for it, whilst it was yet but imperfect. They that will see a mercy finished before they give thanks for it, resolve to trust God no further than they can see him.

The sacrifice of praise (whereby God is glorified) is not to be defer'd till such time as the work of mercy hath brought forth, but is to be offered, so soon as there is but a conception, or at leastwise, any life and motion in it; to discover that it hath conceived. As the hearty sucking of a child brings down more milk into those breasts in which there was but little at the first: so a thankful heart brings down more, and more mercy, and fills those breasts more full, which by our daily receivings we are as it were emptying. What Christ said to *Nathaniel* in reference to his believing, *John 1. 50. Because I said I saw thee under the figtree believest thou? thou shalt see greater things than these*, may be applied to thanksgiving; If for a little mercy we have received already, we can be daily thankful, we shall be sure of more. We should be thankful for the least of mercies, for that we our selves are less than the least.

What better copy can we write after than that of *Ezra* (that holy scribe?) *Ezra 9. 8. And now for a little space grace hath been shewn from the Lord to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place; that our God may lighten our eyes (so Jonathans were with a little honey) and give us a little reviving in our bondage.* You see he was thankful for a remnant, for a nail, for a little reviving, and God gave more afterwards. The seed of mercy always prospereth when it lights upon the valley of an humble heart, and is soakt with the warm showrs of affectionate thanksgivings. So as the great God could have hindred the work we are now in hand with, either by invading us with the Plague, or plaguing
us

us with an invasion, or otherwise, not one house might have been built at this day, of all that were burnt, nor so much as one foundation laid, whereas now (thanks be to God) some hundreds of houses are already finished: (several of them more stately than before) so that now we may allude to what the Psalmist speaketh, *Pf. 48. 12, 13. Walk about Zion and go round about her: tell the towers thereof, mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following.* So may I say, walk now about *London*, mark yee well her palaces, &c. that yee may tell the generation to come, how many goodly buildings were in *London*, within less than two years, after the greatest part of it was burnt to the ground. This is the Lords doing and should be marvellous in our eyes.

Have not men, as instruments, contributed something (and that considerable) towards the rebuilding of the City? (such I mean as had no houses there of their own to build) and ought they not to be thankfully acknowledged for what they have done? I doubt not but many had a hand in the fore-mentioned Act that had no private concern in *London*. So to eye men as to overlook God is the greater fault of the two, but to overlook men when, and wherein they deserve to be thankfully eyed is likewise a fault. *Ezra* hath set us a good pattern *Ezra 7. 27. Blessed be the Lord God which hath put such a thing as this in the Kings heart, to beautifie the house of the Lord, v. 28. And hath extended mercy to me before the King and his counsellors, and before all the Kings mighty Princes, &c.* Here, though the chief honour, and praise, was ascribed to God, yet the King, and his Counsellors, and Princes, were owned also. The King is said to have beautified the house of God, though God to have put it into his heart so to do.

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Whensoever favours are received, be they great or small, thanks becomes a debt, and it is but just to pay it. How should they look to prosper who can pay what they owe and will not? and when it is but thanks that is owing, or expected, who cannot pay it? It is a perverse thing to withhold thanks from them that have deserved at our hands; out of a conceit they might have deserved more. They that do for us more than they might have done (be it more or less) have earned our thanks, and more it is like they will do, if they find us thankful. Some will scatter their bread upon the waters by way of trial, whether they shall find it again, I mean they shew lesser kindnesses at the first, to see if they shall find men thankful, and when they have found them so, they open the hands of their bounty much more wide, and their latter favours are such as speak the former, to have bin but a kind of earnest. It is like that Leaper who alone of all the ten that were cured, did return to give thanks; had some favour above all the rest added to his cure, it being usual with God to thank men (I mean to reward them) for their thanks. And who knows but that our Rulers may have farther intentions of kindness towards the poor City, exceeding all that they have done for it already (I had almost said as the last cloud which *Elijah* saw did exceed the first, *1 Kings* 18. if such a thing were possible) if they shall but experiment that they are owned, and acknowledged (as I hope they will be) in, and for what they have done already. *Tertullus* that great orator spoken of *Acts*. 24. may inform us of the best rhetorick wherewith to prevail for future kindness, who being about to court *Felix*, to be his friend against *Paul*, bespake him as followeth, *v.* 2, 3. *Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that*

very

very worthy deeds, are done unto this nation by thy providence. We accept it always and in all places (most noble Felix) with all thankfulness.

DISCOURSE XXXI.

That to seek much unto God, by Prayer, and Fasting for success, would be one of the best wayes to promote the City.

ALL great undertakings (and such is the building of our City) should be usherd in, and carried on, with prayer, and fasting. *In every thing by prayer and supplication let your request be made known to God, is the rule given, Philip. 4. 6.* And if by prayer in every thing, then doubtless by fasting also, in things of greater weight, and moment: ought our requests to be made known. Prayer alone can do much, but joyned with fasting it may prevail yet more. Our Saviour speaking of a sort of Devils saith, *This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting, Mark 9. 29.* He saith not by prayer only but by fasting also.

Satan is the great obstructer of every good work *1 Thes. 2. 18.* *We would have come unto you (even I Paul) once and again, but Satan hindred us.* Never had that fowl fiend a greater mind to obstruct the building of any City in the world (*Jerusalem* only excepted) than I believe he hath to obstruct the building of *London*. How shall we cast him out but by prayer and fasting? Six other evil Spirits there are (if I may not call them Devils) which do vehemently oppose the rebuilding of *London*, and must be cast out by the means forementioned. First, the spirit of Fear, Discouragement and Despondency, *Nehe-*

Nehemiah 4. 10. And Judah said, the strength of the bearers of burthens is decayed, and there is much rubbish, so that we are not able to build the Wall. And our adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst amongst them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease, v. 11. This one spirit should it so rage and domineer, as God might suffer it to do, might utterly prevent the building of *London*.

But what think you of the Spirit of Envy, and malice, is not that as bad? That Spirit opposed the building of *Jerusalem*, and so it will of *London* so far as it can, or dare. *Nehemiah 2. 10.* When Sanballat and Tobiath heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of *Israel*. *Nehemiah 4. 9.* The breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them to fight against *Jerusalem*, and to hinder it.

Another evil Spirit, which doth, or may hinder the building of *London*, is that of Jealousie, and suspicion, not only in, but of, and concerning that City. This Sanballat made great use of to hinder the building of *Jerusalem*, *Nehemiah 6. 6.* It is reported among the heathens (said he) that thou and the Jews think to rebel, for which cause thou buildest the wall that thou mayest be their King, &c. So some men have the unhappiness to be jealous of their wives, though as chaste women as are in the world, and others are so wicked as to perswade them to it: now this impertinent, as well as evil spirit, must be kept, or cast out by prayer, and fasting, that *London* may be rebuilt.

A spirit of anger, and discontent, may obstruct the building of *London*, as much as any of the rest, if God should leave that spirit to do its worst? So fallen as the discontents of men do sometimes make them, they will enterprize nothing, but will hide
their

their hands in their bosomes, and not so much as bring it to their mouths again, as is said of the slothful man, Prov. 19. 24. and say as he Prov. 22. 13. *There is a Lion without, I shall be slain in the streets.* Men in high discontent, grow desperate, and care not what becomes of any thing. This Spirit also must be cast out or kept within some bounds, by prayer, and fasting.

There is also a private, selfish, self-seeking spirit, which must be disposed of, that any great, and good undertaking, may be carried on. Were all people of that spirit, none would contribute to the building of *London* but such as had private ends, and particular concerns of their own. But if compassion, and good will towards others, and a regard to publick good, do not quicken that work, it will go on but slowly, or but little of it be for the use, and advantage of those who have most need of it.

How easy were it to reckon up yet more evil Spirits, which by prayer and fasting, should be cast out, that the building of *London* may not by them be obstructed? One is a Spirit of Strife and contention, a wrangling Spirit (as I may call it) a Spirit averse unto composing, and agreeing of matters, upon just and equal terms, when the case is clear, and easy to be decided. If the reverend Judges must determine all, and every controversy betwixt Landlord and Tenants, and none of them will agree amongst themselves: (neither can they begin to build till they are agreed:) how many hundreds of houses will by that means be retarded? nor will so much as the foundations thereof be laid so soon, as otherwise the houses themselves might have been compleatly finished. Some are of that humour that they never think well of a private design (not in the plainest case) and when they are

offered better terms than the Law would give
 them) but to Law they will, whatsoever it cost them,
 and how long soever the controversie be like to de-
 pend, how much more in this case, where they
 can have Law for nothing, and are sure to have
 quick dispatch, when they once come to a hearing?
 Let may some for ought I know wait another whole
 year, or upward, ere their turn will come to have
 their cause heard before the Judges, all which time
 their houses must lye in ashes; and if such be their
 humour there let them lye. If none but *Moses* will
 serve their turns to end every small difference, let
 them stay till he can be had: but in *Moses* his time,
 the rulers of thousands, and the rulers of tens (as it
 might be our tithingmen) they judged every small
 matter, and only greater matters were brought be-
 fore him, *Exod.* 18.22,26. Not one brick had been
 laid (as I suppose) in many scores of houses that are
 now built, if they that were concern'd therein as
 landlords, and Tenants, had not agreed of them-
 selves, their time for hearing before the Judges being
 may be not yet come. So that if God will cast,
 let keep out that Spirit of contention, which is in
 some men, and which might possibly enter into
 more, which disposeth men to admit of no deter-
 mination but that of the Law, and Judges, which
 they cannot avoid (which shews they would never
 agree if they could help it) I say if that Spirit were
 cast out, and men would save the reverend Judges
 labour, and themselves so much time by making
 fair propositions on both sides, and mutually ac-
 cepting of them; then a much greater dispatch might
 be made with our City, than is otherwise like to be:
 Now that Spirit must be cast out like all the rest, by
 prayer and fasting. *2Thes.* 3.16. *Now the Lord of*
peace give you peace always by all means.



Seventhly

Seventhly, here is a *spirit of slumber* spoken of, *Rom. 11. 8.* which if it have not ceased upon *Londoners* as yet, it soon may, for what more incident to men, when they are sad and heavy hearted, than to grow heavy eyed, and to fall asleep? Christ having told his Disciples that his *Soul was exceeding sorrowful even unto death*, *Mat. 26. 38.* (which words, it is like, filled them with sorrow too) presently they dropt asleep though he had besought them to watch with him but one hour. There is a great sadness and discontent, upon people at this day, and thence no small danger of a Spirit of slumber, and sleepiness to insue, which is an evil spirit, a spirit that would never suffer the City to be rebuilt, for who can build in his sleep? this spirit also should be kept out by fasting and prayer, unto him who never slumbreth or sleepeeth.

And now it appeareth that if *London* be built again in any competent time, there are as many evil spirits to be cast, or kept out of it, as there were Devils cast out of *Mary Magdalen*, viz. seven, *Mark 16. 9.* which I have called by their names. Nay give me leave to conclude, that I am verily of opinion, that all the Devils in Hell (God permitting them) would set themselves to oppose and withstand the building of *London*, which shews how great need there is of fasting and prayer, to carry it on, and make it sail as it were before the wind.

I may not stand to discourse the reason and use of fasting in conjunction with prayer, or why prayer alone might not do as well. Fasting is a practical acknowledgment of our unworthiness of those good creatures of God, which on such daies, we abstain from, and by consequence, of all others (for there is *parratio*) which are as good as they. By fasting we acknowledg that we are unworthy of meats, and drinks,

drinks, and if of meat to eat, much more of houses to dwell in ; which to be deprived of, were the less punishment of the two. Now they that have deserved the greater punishment, to be sure have deserved the less. Now a hearty acknowledgment both in word and deed, of our great unworthiness, is one of the main, and most prevailing things upon a day of humiliation. *If then their uncircumcised heart shall be humbled (saith God) and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity, Levit. 26. 41. Then will I remember the land.* By confessing we deserve no house or home (as by our fasting we do) if we fast sincerely) what do we but accept the punishment of our iniquity? which is the way to find mercy.

But sith our rulers have appointed an anniversary fast; upon the account of the City, some may think all that I have said touching this matter to be needless, but really it is not so. For first it doth not thence follow that the fast they have appointed will be religiously and strictly kept; (and *as good never a whit as never the better*, saith our proverb) or that by a great many, it will therefore be kept at all.

Neither secondly doth it thence follow, that one fast in a year is as much as need to be, or as God doth expect from us, upon so solemn an occasion. Rulers may think it not fit to anticipate the piety of the people, by leaving nothing at all to be done by them of their own accords, and as a free-will-offering. Moreover they are to make such Laws, as all or the generality of men may be able to observe: Now all men are not in a capacity to fast frequently; yea some it may be (so much greater is their leisure) can better keep one fast every week, than others can keep two in a whole year. So that though it may be no fault in our Magistrates,

gistrates, to injoyne but one fast in a year, in order to imploring mercy for the desolate City, yet it may be a great fault in the people (to whom it is as lawful to fast, as it is to pray, without special command from their superiors, as having a command for him that is supreme to pray always; that is at all opportunities, and fasting is but a necessary concomitant of prayer as the case may be) to observe no more than one day of religious fasting, throughout the whole year, upon so great an accompt.

We read that *the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah four daies in a year, Judg, 11. 40.* Now what was the loss of *Jephthahs* daughter to the loss of such a City as *London* was: (though she were made a sacrifice) but if that perpetual virginity, whereto she was consigned over by her fathers vow, (as some understand it from v. 39. *Who did with her according to his vow, and she knew no man*) were all they went to bewail, four daies in a year, one would think that the loss of such a City as *London*, might better deserve four weeks or moneths, every year to lament it, and which is more to implore mercy for it, whereas the condition of *Jephthahs* daughter was irretrievable, whether she were put to death, or whether it were only that by her fathers vow, and her own superadded consent, she was obliged to continue single, all the daies of her life. Now *Dauids* example may tell us, that when our fasting, and mourning can do good, as he thought it might for his child whilst it lived, and we believe it may to our desolate City, then chiefly, if not only, ought we to give way to it.

How often men should fast upon the loss, and for the recovery of such a City as *London* was, can be brought within no rule that will take in every man,
only

only so often as God shall afford them real opportunities, of which some have ten times as many, within the compass of one year, as some others have.

But this may incourage us to be as frequent in prayer and fasting, as we can, namely that no such service, rightly performed, shall ever be in vain. Physicians need not be farther invited to make frequent visits to their patients, that need it, than by finding they are always welcom, come as oft as they will, and do never lose their labour. This is just the case: let us make as frequent applications as we will, or can, to the throne of grace, for our selves, or others, in such manner as becometh us, we shall be always welcom, and not lose our labour once. *For God is nigh to all that call upon him in truth, in all things that they call upon him for, Deut. 4. 7.*

What better or more suitable examples of praying and fasting, and of the good success thereof in such a case as that of our City, I say what better examples can we desire than are afforded us in those two famous men, viz. *Ezra and Nehemiah, Ezra 8. 21.* *Then I proclaimed a fast that we might afflict our selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us.* Namely when he and others were going from Babylon to Jerusalem, to rebuild the Temple of God there, *v. 23.* *So we fasted and besought our God for this, and he was intreated of us.* See also *Nehemiah 1. 4.* *And when I heard these words I sat down and mourned certain daies, and fasted and prayed before the God of Heaven, viz.* when he heard that the wall of Jerusalem was broken down and the gates thereof burnt with fire, *v. 3.* The thing he prayed for, was that he might find favour in the Kings eyes; to go up to Jerusalem, every way furnished to build that desolate City. Now *v. 8.* it is said, *And the King granted me according to the good hand of my God upon me.*

Now I wish that upon all that I have said, the resolution of men may be to keep that Anniversary fast, which the Magistrate hath appointed for the City, in the most solemn way that can be; and over and above that, to keep as many more such dayes in private (though in publick they cannot, without publick leave) as they shall have opportunity to do. For as *Israel* prevailed against *Amaleck* as much by *Moses* lifting up his hands, viz. in prayer as by the peoples brandishing their swords in war, *Exod.* 17. 11. (for when he let down his hand *Amaleck* prevailed) so it is a real truth (how few soever do believe it) that those who are builders, in the common acceptation of that word, viz. Carpenters, Bricklayers and other artificers, do not more truly contribute to the building of such a City as *London* is (in which religion, as having been long known and professed there, doth claim a great interest) than they do, who with tender regard to its recovery, do earnestly apply themselves to prayer, and fasting. The bridegroom of *England* (as in a civil sense I may call *London*) though in a spiritual sense Christ himself likewise is so called) being taken away, fasting is now in season, for saith Christ (to which we only allude) *when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, then shall they fast.* As the mother of *Augustin* comforted her self with this concerning him, viz. That a son of so many prayers, and tears, should not miscarry, so may we comfort our selves concerning *London*, if it be a City, as he was a son, of many prayers, and tears, that it shall not miscarry, but go out its full time, and be brought to its intended perfection.

DISCOURSE XXXII.

On Ezra 6. 14. *And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the Prophet and Zechariah.*

Intending to treat of all the helps we can think upon, as for the rebuilding of *London*, that of good Prophets, who in former ages have been very serviceable, even to the purposes of building (witness the text above mentioned) may at no hand be omitted: I have shewed before, that good Magistrates may contribute very much to such a work, as is in hand, (viz the restoring of the City) and now I shall make it as evident, that good Ministers also might much contribute thereunto. It is said in express terms that *the Jews builded, and prospered through the prophesying of Haggai*. It is like, that *Haggai* did not lay one stone in the building of the Temple, and yet all things considered, no man was more instrumental in that work than he, for he it was, who in the name of God put them upon it, and encouraged them in it, *Haggai 1. 4. Then came the word of the Lord by Haggai saying, is it time for you O ye to dwell in your cieled houses, and this house lie wast? v. 8. Thus saith the Lord, go up to the mountain and bring wood and build the house, and I will take pleasure in it. v. 13. Then spake Haggai in the Lords message to the people saying, I am with you saith the Lord. And Haggai 2. 4. Be strong O Zerubbabel saith the Lord, and be strong O Jeshua the high priest, and be strong all ye people of the land: for I am with you saith the Lord. In like manner we find the prophet Zechariah encouraging the people Zech 8. from v. 7. to 15. and Zech. 12. 2, 3.*

Now as it is in war, they that beat the drums, and

found the trumpets, thereby animating those that ingage in the battle, and drowning those doleful noises of shriekes, and groans, which would otherwise dishearten the Souldiers, do, or may do as much service, though themselves do not strike one stroke, as those that fight most skilfully and valiantly, yea each of them is, or seemeth to be, of greater use than any one single souldier, because what they do hath an influence upon the whole company, or regiment; putting heart and spirit into every man: even so may it fall out in building (and every other undertaking of great consequence) viz. that Gods Prophets, or Ministers, though it be not proper for them to be mechanically employed therein, yet may each of them more advance, and promote the business, than any ten men that are so employed.

They (if I may so allude) are the greatest builders of all, who (as is said of God) do build without hands. Tongues may either help or hinder more than hands; help if united, and ingaged for the work: but hinder, if divided, as in the case of *Babel*. There was a prophet *Jeremy*, who lived a great while since *Haggais* time, and much nearer to ours, whose influence upon the people was so great, for the exceeding veneration they had both for his life, and doctrine, that I verily think that the interest of ten such prophets as he, were enough to build such a City as *London*, if all *England* could but afford men and monies, wherewithall to do it.

Doubtless *Haggai*, and *Zechariah* were men of eminent holiness, and that brought them into so much esteem with the people. It was not meere as they were prophets, nor yet as men of good abilities, that they were so much had in honour. *Hophni* and *Phineas* were priests, and able men, it

is like being the sons of *Eli* : but yet the people had no respects for them, yea for the greatness of their *men abhorred the offering of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 2. 17.

Sanctity is so essential to a prophet, to a minister, that where it is not in truth, or in appearance, at leastwise, where at leastwise it is not thought to be ; it is, as it were natural to men to withhold from such persons that veneration, and esteem, which as prophets is fit for them both to deserve, and have : not men of the greatest parts, and abilities, but men of the greatest zeal, and holiness, or reputed for such, are generally they who carry the greatest stroke with the people, as if they thought that such *Elijah's* could take up others to Heaven in the same chariot with themselves : or that the Ship in which those *Pauls* do sail, must needs come safe to land, at leastwise all the passengers be spared, and therefore would chuse to imbarque with them. The very semblance of sanctimony (where it may be it hath not been in truth) hath made a greater interest for some men, and made them greater leaders of the people, than the substance, and manifest reality of parts, and gifts, could ever make others. But then suppose a Minister to have the true *Thammim* the truth of grace and holiness, I mean (which one would think should be more universally owned, than the meer shew or shadow thereof) and besides that to have the *Urim* also, I mean, a fair proportion of parts, and gifts, as for his work, a man so qualified would compel a very *Herod* to pay him reverence, and to be much perswaded by him, as he was by *John the Baptist*, for the very reason, *Mark* 6. 20. *For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man, and a holy, and observed him, and when he heard him he did many things, and heard him gladly.* We read that *John* was a shining light, as well as a burn-

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ing light, John 5. 35. but it was for his burning, and not so much for his shining light, that *Herod* did reverence him, and do many things by his direction. *Herod* was no less than a Prince, *John* but a mean man (to see too) *The same John*, had his raiment of Camels haire and a leathern girdle about his loins, *Mat. 3. 4.* Yet, for that he was a just, and a holy man, *Herod* feared him, who doubtless would not have feared a loose, unholy prophet (one that he had known to be such) no not in all his pontificalibus, if for the gravity, majesty and glory of his habit, he had outvied the most reverend Pope. A holy prophet commands more respect in a hairy garment, and a leathern girdle, and his word shall go farther, than shall the word and authority of an unholy one, were his habit as rich as a very Prince, and his titles of honour, more than are the grand Seigniors.

I see then, if a *Zerubbabel* would have his word to prosper, he must have holy prophets about him, as was *Haggai* and *Zecbariah* (or those that are generally esteemed and reputed such.) For otherwise it is little service that can be done for Princes, by those that serve them in the capacity of Ministers, or Prophets, unless those prophets of theirs are generally in request as good and holy men, whose lips the people are willing should preserve knowledge for them, and to receive the law from their mouths.

Now every such prophet as *Haggai* and *Zecbariah* was, is able to do a Prince more than knight-service, whether he have a City to build, or any other great design to carry on. The hands of *Moses* had flagged, and so *Amaleck* prevailed, if *Aaron*, *Exod. 17. 12.* had not held them up, and what is *Aaron* called but the Saint of the Lord. They must be *Aarons*,

or such as he in point of repute) viz. *Saints* who shall be found able to bear up the hand of *Moses* whilst he is conflicting with *Amaleck*. I mean with any great opposition, or difficulty; nor can our *Aaron* be well spared whilst *Amaleck* is yet undued.

No persons more able to make the people for any good purpose than those prophets for whom they have great respects; which can be only such as are generally owned, and accounted of as good, and holy men.

Therefore they that are such, ought in Point of prudence, as well as upon other considerations, to be obliged, and incouraged when any great work is in hand; that by their means, and by virtue of their interest, others may be brought in, even the body of a nation, to help forward with it. Such men are certainly the *Chariots of a Nation and the horsemen thereof*: as was said of *Elijah*. They that have a great interest of their own, they, and they only, can make a considerable interest for others also, if obliged thereunto. They that are really holy can do much with God, and men, they that have but a great name to live, or for holiness, can do much with men: they that can do either, are or may be of great use to them that shall employ them; but they that can do both, will (where they take) be incomparably serviceable.

If any shall object, and say, that they of all men are most dangerous, if touched with the least dissatisfaction, who for their piety, and parts, are had in great veneration with the people; and that *ubi mali nemo pejus*, is most applicable to them, that if they have an ill resentment of things, none can do worse things than they, nor yet so bad: to that objection, I reply. We ought not to look at what men can

can do, and to use them accordingly, but at what men will, or are inclined to do. Doubtless God himself, could do more hurt to the world, than all the Devils in Hell, put together in respect of his omnipotency, but because of his unchangeable holiness, righteousness, and goodness, he can do the world no injury at all. Good men will not dare to do the hurt they could (yet neither should they be tempted to do it, if they durst) Ministers that are pious, and capable of doing worthy service, should be treated as friends, and to be sure they will never hurt their friends, who are taught of God to love their very enemies, they will never render evil for good, who make conscience of rendring good for evil. *Paul and Apolls and Cephas* are yours, if you be Christs: use them as your own, and you will never have cause to fear them, nor much cause to do it howsoever they be used, sith they have learnt to pray even for them that use them despightfully.

Good men have a power to do mischief, but no will, but to do good they have both will, and power: therefore the mischief they can do is not so much to be feared, as the good they are able to do, is to be hoped for and encouraged.

Surely a blessing from Heaven is wont to attend the labours of a good Ministry, and the encouraging of those labours, (as well as a curse to wait upon the contrary) And if the blessing of God will not help to build the City, I know not what will.

Time was, that *David* himself was afraid of the Ark of God, and therefore would not remove it unto him into the City of *David*, but carried it aside into the house of *Obed-Edom*, 2 Sam. 6, 10. but in three months time he saw that he was worse scared than hurt, v. 12. It was told King *David* saying, the Lord hath blessed

He blessed the house of Obed-Edom, and all that pertaineth to him, because of the ark of God. So David went and brought up the ark of God, from the house of Obed-Edom into the City of David with gladness. He concluded that that which had blessed the house of Obed-Edom would bless his City, and doubtless so it did.

That building work may be promoted by good prophets, or ministers, I shall prove by one text more, and so conclude this Chapter, viz. *Ezra 5.2. Then rose up Zerubbabel and Jeshuak, and began to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem, and with them were the prophets of God helping them.*

DISCOURSE XXXIII.

That to be deeply affected with the hand of God in burning the City is one good way to have it built again.

TO be affected with the burning of the City is one thing, and to be affected with the hand of God in burning it is another. They may lament the City with a great lamentation; who take no notice at all of the hand of God, that was stretched out against it, but altogether cry out upon men, as if evil instruments could have burnt such a City, without the great God concerning himself in it more or less. Whereas the truth is, if men were instruments in the burning of it (which for me shall rest upon proof) yet God had the principle hand in it; for wicked men are but Gods hand, and sword, *Pf. 17. 14. Deliver my soul from the wicked which are thy sword, from men which are thy hand.*

Now God would that his hand should be taken notice of, for he loves to be acknowledged as the author of those judgments that are inflicted by him.

Who

who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robber : did not the Lord ? Isa. 42. 24. Is there any evil in the City and the Lord hath not done it ? Amos 3. 6. That passage Isa. 26. 11. sheweth us that God cannot indure to be overlooked when he smiteth. Lord, when thy hand is lifted up they will not see, but they shall see, and be ashamed, yea the fire of thine enemies shall consume them.

That we may be duly affected with the burning of the City, there are several things to be taken notice of, besides that which I have suggested in the first place, *viz.* that God did it. Now that such a God, should burn such a City, a God *slow to anger, gracious, merciful, long suffering, abundant in goodness*, I say that such a God, should burn so antient, so famous, so professing a City, is a very affecting consideration.

Another is this, *viz.* that God did never burn any City but when he was greatly angry. God did never burn a City in cool blood (if I may so speak of him after the manner of men.) *Isa. 42. 25. He hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and it hath set him on fire round about, yet he knew not, and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.* I knew a good gentlewoman, who beholding the flames of London (by which she lost not one pounds worth of her estate, did thereby receive so great an impression of the wrath of God against the City, (as her self told me) that she presently fell into a languishing distemper (though before of a healthful, chearful constitution) and in despite of all the remedies which her loving husband, one of the most eminent Physicians in England, could supply her withall (which the bills I have seen have assured me to have been as effectual as could be used) she out-ran her husband to the grave, whose many infirmities made it probable ne
would

would have arrived there many years before her. If she were too much affected with the manifestation of Gods wrath, I doubt that most others are but too little.

Another affecting consideration is this, that God is never angry without a cause, nor yet above the cause given, or more than he hath cause for. There is never anger on Gods part, but there is provocation on ours, and provocation proportionable to that anger, *Pf. 107. 17. Fools because of their transgression and because of their iniquity are afflicted.* If we can slight their anger who will be angry for nothing, and they know not why themselves? to be sure his anger is not to be slighted, who is never displeased but there is a just cause, and a good reason for it.

God would that we should be more affected with that wrath of his which is the cause of judgments, than with those judgments which are the effects of his wrath. As *Joab* doubtless was not so much troubled for the loss of his corn, as for the displeasure of *Absalom*, which was intimated thereby. Surely *David* was grieved at *Sauls* throwing his javelin at him, though it hit him not, because it did betoken the displeasure he had against him. *David* doth not deprecate chastisement, but anger. *Pf. 6. 1. Rebuke me not in thine anger, chasten me not in thy hot displeasure,* and it is said *Be ye afraid of the sword for wrath bringeth the punishment of the sword, Job. 19. 29.* as if the wrath of God were the very edge of the sword, but for which we should have no cause to fear it.

God sendeth judgments on purpose to make his anger known, against sin, and sinners, therefore saith the scrip. *God is known by the judgments which he executes,* *Pf. 9. 16.* and *Rom. 1.* it is said, *The wrath of*

of God is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness of men. Judgments are the revelations of Gods wrath, and as such they are most of all to be taken notice of.

How angry was God think you when he burnt our City? It is an expression that importeth much wrath, when *the anger of God and his jealousy is said but to smoke against a man*, Deut. 29. 20. But in this case it did not only smoke against London, but flamed out. Now to be sensible of the fury of Gods anger; which hath set us on fire round about, and to lay it to our hearts more than any thing else, (like ingenious children who are more troubled at their parents frowns; than at the smart of the rod,) I say thus to do, might conduce very much towards the building of our City. For saith the scripture, *Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God that he may exalt you in due time*, 1 Pet. 5. 6.

DISCOURSE XXXIV.

That greatly to bewail those sins, both of our own, and others which helped to burn the old City, would help to build the new one.

WHat those sins were I have shewed at large in my Treatise concerning the burning of London, whereunto for the avoiding of Tautologies; I refer thee. Some it may be can cry not guilty, in their own persons, as to several of them saying as he, *I thank thee O God I am not so nor so*, viz. no Idolater, no Adulterer, &c. but who can wash his, or her hands, in innocency, as to every of them, or throw the first stone at another, as being himself without any sin therein mentioned.

As

As the Prophet Oded said to the men of *Israel*, who dealt severely with their brethren of *Judah*, whom God for their sins had delivered into their hands, *Chron. 28. 10.* *And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah, and of Jerusalem, for bondmen and bondwomen to you: but are there not with you, even with you sins against the Lord your God? so say I to any that shall think themselves so righteous as that they need no repentance: But are there not with you, even with you sins against your God?*

Let us then in the first place bewail our own sins, *David* did (that man after Gods own heart) saying as he, *Pf. 38. 18.* *I will declare mine iniquity, I will be sorry for my sin,* and doing as he, *Pf. 6. 6.* *All the night make I my bed to swim, I water my couch with my tears,* viz. of repentance, for his sins whereby he had provoked that anger of God, which in the beginning of this Psalm he deprecates

Let us in the next place bewail the sins of others, much we were bound to do, though we had none of our own: much more being as it were brethren in iniquity with other men, having been partakers in the sins of others, and made our selves by one means, or other accessory thereunto. This did not *Lot*, yet vexed he his righteous Soul from day to day with the filthy conversation of the wicked *Sodomites*, *2 Pet. 2.* And as for *David* he tells us that he beheld the transgressors, and was grieved, and in *Pf. 119. 136.* he saith, *Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law.* Thus *Ezra* mourned for the sin of the people in marrying *Cananitish* wives, *Ezra. 9. 1.* (though he had done no such thing himself.) And thus *Nehemiah* bewailed the sins of all sorts of men, *Nehemiah 9. 33.* *Thou hast done right but we have done wickedly, neither have our Kings, our Priests, nor our rulers kept thy law, &c.*

It is better than nothing to be affected with the judgments of God themselves (not to be as if we were seared with a hot Iron, or past feeling) it is better than that to be affected with the displeasure of God manifested in, and by those judgments; but it is best of all, to be grieved at the causes of that displeasure, whether in our selves or others, viz. our own and the sins of other men. It is some ingenuity in a Child to resent a correction, and to be ashamed, when his Father hath as it were spit in his face, it is more to resent his parents anger, and frowns, but it is most of all, to be troubled for his faults, unless it be more than that, to be troubled even for the faults of others, which shall never be laid to his charge. A child may be sorry his father is offended, and yet not be sorry for the fault (as such) whereby he gave him the offence. Therefore to lament the causes of Gods anger (which I am now exhorting to) is more than to lament the effects, or the anger it self.

But the question is, how the doing of this would help to build our City? Now to that I answer, that our City (blessed be God is in a fair way to be built, if our sins hinder not: neither shall they hinder it (how great soever our former provocations have been) if our hearts do but serve us duly to lament, our own abominations, and the abominations of one another, *Ezek. 9. 4. And the Lord said unto him, viz. unto the man with the inkhorn by his side) Go through the midst of the City, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.* This mark was for preservation, and deliverance, whilst others were devoted to ruin and destruction; like that blood which was sprinkled upon the posts of the Israelites, that their doors might be passed over, and

the destroying Angel not come into their hou-
 of we, *Exod. 12. 23.* Lot who vexed his soul with the
 it is thy conversation of the wicked, had a *Zoar*, a
 sure City provided for him and his, when fire
 ents; came down upon the *Zodomites*, where in *1 Pet. 2. 9.*
 f that Apostle inferreth, *The Lord knows how to deliver*
 viz. godly, viz. from those flames and calamities,
 nge- which destroy others. Though the houses of wicked
 d to men, like these in *Sodom*, should *suffer the vengeance*
 it in eternal fire, that is, be condemned by God, al-
 and ways to lye in the dust (which yet is more distinction
 r his an God doth ordinarily make in this world) yet
 bled doubt not but such as mourn in *Zion*, shall have
 er be ave to build the wast places, and shall have *beauty*
 ther in their ashes.

Now is *Londons* seed time, the City it self is to
 sown. Sow in tears and you shall reap in joy. He
 am goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall
 ts, blest come again with rejoycing, bringing his sheaves
 ould him, *Pf. 126. 5, 6.*

DISCOURSE XXXV.

as to reform throughout England, whatsoever is ma-
 nifestly amiss, and can be reformed, would admirably
 promote the City.

Have discoursed of Humiliation, upon several
 accounts, but what signifieth Humiliation, with-
 a Reformation, for who was ever truly humbled,
 but did not truly reform? A thorough Reforma-
 on hath been a work so long spoken off, and so
 little perfected, that some may be apt to think of
 it, as of the Philosopher stone, (which for so
 many ages hath baffled the most ingenious chymists)

that there is no such thing attainable. I say of Reformation, as Divines do of sanctification. There is a perfection of degrees, which cannot be attained in this life, but then there is a perfection of parts which may; some reformation there may be of all things or kinds of things that are amiss, all of a compleat reformation, can hardly be expected in this life, of any one thing, or kind of things which is not as it should be.

Solomon placeth it amongst the vanities which he had seen under the Sun, that *that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered*, Eccles. 1. 15. Seeming thereby to mean, that there are some evils in the world (and those not a few) that will never be mended, that are like incurable diseases, or like those defects in nature, which can none be supplied. *Ex. gr.* if a man be born blind, or deaf, &c. But he would not have us to think, that none of all those things that are amiss in the world can be rectified, or reformed. There are a great many moral, and political diseases, as well as natural, that may be cured though some are incurable. Some bones that are out of joynt, may be set; and some that are broken may be made whole again, though all cannot.

I mention that all and every thing that is amiss in the world, cannot be mended, to the end people may not be discontented, and say with *Jonah* they have reason to be angry to the death, so long as they see any thing in Church, or state, that is not as it should be, or that would be better otherwise. For they that live by that principle, shall be always, and in all times, restless, and male-content, Men must be more than mortal men, before they cease to be guilty of any failings, and oversights: or of turning aside, more, or less,

either

either to the right hand, or to the left.

But on the other hand, it is as certain that there are many wilful miscarriages, and presumptuous iniquities in the world, which men might avoid, as well as unavoidable infirmities. So much *David* estimates, when he saith, *keep back thy servant from presumptuous sins*, Many things are left unreformed, because men cannot reform them, or do think they ought not, or need not so to do, but because they will not, and *because they love darkness better than light, and evil more than that which is good.* Rom. 2. 20. *Who knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same but have pleasure in those that do them.*

I meddle not with the reforming of those things which men may rationally doubt, whether they be sins or no; or with those *peccadillos*, which are like smaller faults in pointing, or printing, which do no ways disturb the sense, or make it unintelligible, but with the greater *Errata's* that are committed, even so great, that it is hard to be understood whether they that do such things have any thing of Christianity, besides the name, and profession. Let men *pluck the beams out of their eyes first, and then they will see to pull out the mores afterwards.*

I exhort not to the reforming and altering of every thing that any body shall find fault with, for then we shall never have done, then we shall make as bold a business of our reformation, as beset the man in the fable, whose young wife pulled out all his grey hairs, and then come an old one afterwards, and pluck of all that were not grey, viz. all that were left: or as a Limner, who having hundreds looking on, as he is drawing a picture, should put in and put out according to every ones fancy, and suggestion.

But if there be things which every body finds fault with, and which the consciences (if not the tongues) of all people do condemn, and cry out upon, which they that run, may, and do read the evil of, and the iniquity that is in them, doubtless such things ought to be reformed. As the boy said to his Father, Father is that true that every body saith is true? so say I is not that evil which every body confesseth to be so, or cannot deny so to be? and ought not that which is manifestly evil to be reformed, if it can be so? will not otherwise our sins separate between God and us, and hinder good things from us? will not those *Achans*, our wilful unreformed sins) trouble us continually, and cause God to say, as to *Joshua* of old, *There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee: therefore ye cannot stand*, Josh. 7. 13. *Neither will I be with you any more unless you destroy the accursed.*

As for the persons concerned in reforming, they are as many as are concerned in the rebuilding of London, (for therein is its rebuilding concerned) or as many of them, as have any thing that stands in need of being reformed, and who hath not more or less of that? *For in many things we all offend.*

Here I could mention divers sorts of reformation necessary to be pressed, and practised, viz. personal, and that both internal, and external, domestic, national.

It were endless to point at all things which it were needful for us to reform. But first of all, if men declare their sins like *Sodom*, if they publish them in the face of the Sun (as did *Abshalom*) if they swear and curse, in all companies, and in the open street, not caring who hears them: if men, women, and children, do grossly and notoriously profane the Sabbath, by working or playing; if they that be drunk,

drunk, will be drunk in the day time, and reel along the streets (*as if they had eaten shame and drunk after it, as our proverb is.*) If Atheists will speak blasphemously of God & Christ, scornfully of Scriptures, contemptuously of all religion, and that in all, or most places, where they come (*as if they studied to make proselytes to infidelity, and to draw others with themselves to Hell*) and if other sins put on a whores forehead, and a brow of brass, and appear with broad and open face, as if no body had any thing to say to them, or as men might do that were *recti in curia*, I say when sins, yea the worst of sins, shall in that fashion, stare all Law and authority in the face, it is high time to reform. For if Laws cannot thrust sinners into corners, and make them like Owls to fly the light, and sins to become *the hidden works of darkness* (*as they are called*) the adulterer to seek the twilight, and to act *si non esse tamen cautè*, cautiously, if not chastly, I say, if Laws cannot confine sin to those regions of darkness, to which it belongs, without some speedy reformation, Laws will be out of countenance, and sin will give Law, vertue will be counted a vice, and vice a vertue, drunkenness, and whoredom will challenge rewards, whilst sobriety, and chastity shall be exposed to punishments, and as the Prophet complained, *Mt. 3. 15. Now we call the proud happy, yea they that work wickedness are set up, yet they that tempt God are even delivered.* So it will be again, if the impudency of sin, and sinners, be not chastised; and then the second part of *Phaetons* tragedy will be acted, *viz.* Sin got into the Chariot of the sun, I mean to be visible, and conspicuous, 'twill set the world on fire.

Though it be above the power of Humane Laws, (and of those that make and execute them) and de-

stroy the being of sin in the world, yet not the visibility of it, whereby it spreads exceedingly, flows in like a Torrent that hath broken down all its banks and bounds, bids defiance to all vertue and goodness, and saith in effect, as *Adonijah* did when *David* grew old, *I will be King*, 1 *King.* 1. 5. I say, Laws can smother sin, and fire when smothered can do no such hurt as that which breaketh out, and hath full vent. Laws can make sin, and sinners do, as is said of the Beasts of the Forrest, *Psa.* 104. 21. *The Sun ariseth, they lay them down in their dens, and that they shall do at most, but as is said of them; v. 20. Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest do creep forth.*

Laws do a great matter in restraining the publickness and openness of sin, because private sins cannot contract publick and National guilt; because Authority cannot prevent them, as they may do those which are publick; neither is God so much dishonoured and defied, or Religion so much brought into contempt by them, though God is greatly displeased with them also. In *Judahs* daies sin sought a covering, or was made to seek it; for *Tamar* intending to prostitute her self to *Judah* put on her vail; and it is said, *Gen.* 38. 21. *When Judah saw her, he thought her to be a Harlot, because she had covered her face.*

To suffer people to be debauched by such things as have a manifest tendency thereunto, is utterly a fault, and it is plain should be reformed. Our corrupt natures need no incentives to sin; give them an inch of that, and they will take an Ell. I shall here mention but two things (though it is like there are more) which have been complained of as great *irritamenta malorum*, great provocations to sin. The first is filthy foolish Balads, read and sung up and down,

down, whereby (it is said) the meanest and younger sort of people, who cannot go to the price of any higher entertainments, have their minds extremely vitiated and corrupted; those obscene Sonnets, being, as it were, short *Catechismes* of wickedness, whereby children are trained up in the way, in which they should not go, and elder persons confirmed therein.

The other is such Plays (for with such only I shall meddle) which contain in them lascivious, or otherwise profane passages, whereby (it is observed) that persons of a higher quality than those *Catechumens* of the Devils, who receive their instruction from Balads that are sung to them free-cost, and want a few farthings to pay for them) are notoriously debauched. The Ancients were so sensible of the great mischief that did accrew by Plays stuffed with wantonness and impiety, that (as Bishop *Usher* hath observed) they have inserted a passage against them in the Baptismal Vow, viz. that we should renounce the pomps of the world: Now *πομπαι* (said he) did of old signifie Stage-Plays, which having been found (as they were mannaged) exceedingly to corrupt the hear s and lives of men and women, they laid an ingagement upon children at their Baptisme, to shun and avoid them.

The ill living, and ill preaching of some Ministers (I say of some, for blessed be God all are not such, but alas there are too too many of them) is another thing that calls for speedy reformation. Those blind *Sampsons* that are fit for nothing but to grind in a Mill, to turn round and round, where they cannot go out of their way (blind I call them from their gross ignorance, *Sampsons* from their great strength (yet not such as *Sampsons* was) but such as the Prophet denounceth a woe against, *Isa.*

5. 22. *Woe unto them that are mighty to drink Wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink.*) I say, those blind *Sampsons* have already taken hold upon the Pillars of the Church, and will (if not prevented) go nigh to tumble it down upon the heads of themselves and others. It hath been observed of the Papacy, that if the good and mortified lives of some few of their Clergy, had not made some amends for the great pride and luxury of the rest of them, that Religion had never been able to stand to this day, and it may be verified amongst us; neither may we trust to that alone, but should remember what the Poet saith, *Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum est ne pars sincera trahatur*; that is, gangreened and incurable members must be cut off, or else those that are sound will be indangered.

If any thing, but what is of absolute necessity, doth hinder the spreading of Soul-saving knowledge, and its covering the Land *as waters cover the Sea*, I only say if it be so (for I will leave it to others to judge what is of absolute necessity to preserve the peace and safety of Church and State) we may be sure that God is provoked thereby, and that the Reformation thereof is indispensable. When the *Jews* obstructed the Salvation of the *Gentiles*, they are said thereby to have filled up their sins, and that *wrath came upon them to the uttermost*, 1 *Thes.* 2. 16.

I am loth to proceed in rehearsing what I think were necessary to reform, and shall therefore chuse to say no more but this: Let those that have power in their hands, reform but all those things which they think in their consciences ought to be reformed, and that no good account can be given thereof to the great God, when they shall stand before his Tribunal; I say, let them reform but so much, (which is also certainly within the verge of their power, though

though there may be difficulty in it) and when they have so done, that both *London, England*, and all the three Kingdomes, will reap the happy fruits of it, I make no question.

And now that I have bespoken a Reformation, of what is not disputably, but manifestly amiss, that God may bless us in our great design of rebuilding *London*, it may be expected, I should express whom I would have to be the Reformers. If then the question be put concerning the reforming not of a person, or family, but of a Nation, and of such abuses as are National : I profess sincerely that I am utterly an enemy to a popular Reformation (further than of their own persons, and families) that is, unto the people, or body of the people, or any party from amongst them, rising up, and saying, This and that is amiss either in Church or State, and we will reform it : As our Saviour replied, *Luke 12. 14. Who made me a Judge, or a divider of you ?* So may I say to the people, who made them Judges ? or who hath authorized them to be Reformers ? If those waters use to overflow their banks, instead of making the Land fruitful, (as *Nilus* did *Egypt*) they will drown and swallow up all : The Law saith, a mischief ought to be endured, rather than an inconvenience : Now for the common people to have a power of judging and determining what is amiss, and altering all things at their pleasure, were an inconvenience, in the sense of our Law, viz. a standing evil, and principle of mis-rule ; whereas to deny them that power, is a rule that is generally good and safe, though it should admit of some exception now and then, and breed what they call a mischief.

As the Wisdom of God hath thought fit to constitute Husbands to be the Head of their Wives, because though here and there a woman (one of a thousand)

sand) may have more wisdom than her Husband,
 and could govern the family better than he, and to
 such it is a *mischief*; (though but what they deserve,
 for chusing Husbands that have less wit than them-
 selves) yet the generality of women being not so
 fit for government as men are, an *inconvenience* much
 worse than that *mischief* is avoided thereby, *viz.* by
 placing the headship of the family in the Husband.
 The like may be said of Gods placing the sole pow-
 er of publick reformation in Magistrates, and men
 in Authority, and denying any such power to the
 common people; because though the community
 of the people might now and then do better things
 than are done by persons in power, yet generally
 they would do worse, and be the Authors not of
 better order, but of more confusion: People may
 humbly represent to those that are in Authority,
 what they take for grievances, and implore the re-
 dress of them, so far as to their wisdom shall seem
 fit (beseeching God to incline their hearts thereun-
 to) but that is all they can do. This Paragraph I
 have added as a grain of salt wherewith to season
 what I have said, as touching some things which
 seem necessary to be reformed, the notice whereof
 taken with this grain of salt, can do no body any
 hurt: There is no hurt in seeking a Reformation of
 what is manifestly evil, but only in seeking it from
 the peoples hands, from whom it is not to be
 sought, but only from the Magistrate. Could we
 whisper in the ears of Magistrates, (which we have
 not opportunity to do) what we suppose doth need
 their reforming hand, by my consent the people
 should never hear of it, their *Errata's* should be
 mended (if it were possible) before the people did
 ever so much as know of them, nor have we pre-
 sumed to acquaint them with any thing of that Na-
 ture,

ture, but what they knew too well before, and do ordinarily complain of, though not where they should, viz. to them that can afford them relief, to whom this Treatise directeth all its complaints, (if there be any in it) as to them by whom it is most fit they should be heard.

Reformation is needful in two cases: First, in case there be good Laws, but ill observed, notoriously broken and violated: There are not better Laws in the World, than many, if not most of ours in *England*; as for the curbing and restraining most kinds of vices, drunkenness, swearing, whoredom, &c. but yet alas they abound, as if the Laws were rather for, than against them, which shews one Law is too much wanting, viz. a Law to put the rest in execution. And verily, they to whom the execution of Laws doth appertain, are the persons upon whom it is incumbent, and whose proper work it is to see those miscarriages, which are contrary to good Laws, regulated and reformed. But secondly, It is possible that Laws themselves (humane Laws I mean) may some of them not be good, or not so good as they should be, and in that case a reformation of the Law it self is as necessary, as in the former, a reformation by it. I am sure that Decree of *Darius*; Dan. 6. 17. *That whosoever shall ask a Petition of any God or Man for thirty daies, save of the King, shall be cast into the Den of Lyons*, was a sinful Law; as was also that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *That every man shall fall down and worship the Golden Image*, Dan. 3. 10. Magistrates are not infallible, in *Cathedra*, or in the Seat of Judgment; (as the Pope pretends himself to be in *St. Peters Chair*) nor do Protestant Magistrates pretend, that they who sit in *Moses his Chair*, whilst they sit there, cannot erre; they know themselves to be but fallible men, and the
Laws

Laws of such cannot be infallibly good.

I confess that private men ought to be very tender of *speaking evil of the Law, and judging the Law*: To allude to *James 4. 11.* yet Laws may have their faults as well as men, and when they have so, there are but two remedies I can think of; and the first is, that those who are *Legislators*, or Law-makers, should either repeal, or alter them; as *Nebuchadnezzar* did his Decree, *Dan. 3. 29.* and *Darius* his, *Dan. 6. 26.* though the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* were said to be unalterable: or if that be not done, that those who have power to suspend the execution of unwholesome Laws, though not to repeal them, be pleased to suspend their execution. I have only shewed how an evil, or sinful Law, may be reformed, and by whom, but not presumed to call any Law evil, but that of *Darius* and of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which themselves by recalling did acknowledge as such.

But for fear of tediousness, I would press hard for that kind of Reformation for which we need not be beholden to any man but our selves, *viz. personal and domestical* Reformation; I say to any other man (as for the two forementioned we must be) for the Divine assistance must at no hand be excluded: We need ask no man leave to let us be just, and chaste, and sober, and heavenly-minded, and charitable, and *filled with all the fruits of righteousness which are by Christ, to the praise and glory of God*; nor yet to suffer us to resolve as *Joshua* did, and to hold that resolution, *that we and our house will serve the Lord*. Let us not pull down that City with our feet, (our irregular walking I mean) which we are building up with our hands. By what I have said, not only the way of reforming, but the feasibility of reforming in such a way, is evident enough: Some things

things we have shewed, may be reformed by those to whom the making of Laws doth appertain, (and by them only,) others by them to whom it belongeth to put Laws in execution, and many others by every private person.

Did not some think it a shame to reform, and to recede from what they have once done : I should have more hope to prevail by what I have said ; but some do so carry it, as if perseverance were as necessary in that which is evil, as in good. I am sure that same is no universal rule, *Quod fieri non debuit factum valet*, (that is) that when a thing is done, it should be persisted in, though it were such as ought not to have been done. I say that is no general rule : For then might *Noah* have persisted in his drunkenness, *Lot* in his incest, at leastwise *Zachens* might have kept what he had gotten by fraud, and oppression, which he did not dare to do, but offered to restore fourfold. *Pilate* did well to answer, *what I have written I have written*, John 19. 22. (meaning he would not recede from it) because he had written as became him, viz. *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews* (for so he was) but in case the inscription which they would have had him to alter, had not been true, and good, he had been much to blame for refusing to write any otherwise.

Shall men not be ashamed to sin, and yet be ashamed to repent ? Is it beneath us to cry God mercy, when we have injur'd him ? Are we better than *David* and *Solomon*, and all other great and good Kings, whose repentance is in the scripture recorded to all future ages ? Is that repentance below us, which was not below them ? As some do glory in their shame, so others seem to be ashamed of their glory, I mean of that which would be so, viz. the manifestation of hearty repentance, which

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is the best thing next to innocency. *Prima conditio est non peccasse, secunda vero penituisse.* It is best not to sin, but having sinned, the best thing we can do is to repent. S. *Augustin* is said to have gotten more credit by his *Retractions*, and confessions, than by anything else: Men will never think faults to be no faults, because they by whom they were committed, venture to persist in them; nor yet conclude from thence that they who persist in them, do not know them to be such: for who knows not drunkenness, and whoredom, and deceit, and oppression, to be heinous sins, and yet how many do persist therein? He that is ashamed to recall and undo what he hath done amiss, is ashamed to repent: and he that is ashamed to repent, is in effect ashamed to be pardoned, and to be saved. If men will to Hell for shamefacedness who can help it?

How conducing a thorough reformation of what is manifestly, and confessedly amiss, would be to the rebuilding of our City, were easy to inform ourselves from many texts of scripture; of which I shall name some few, and so conclude this Chapter. Who contributed more (if so much,) to the building of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple of God therein, than did *Ezra* & *Nehemiah*? and they two were great reformers, in their time, *Ezra* 10. *Nehem.* chap. 5. and chap. 13. How did *Nehemiah* bestir himself to reform the officers of the house of God, and the violation of the Sabbath, and the Jews their marrying with strange wives, and their wicked usury? *Neh.* 5. 10. I pray you (said he) leave off this usury. Never was there a more reformed, and a more reforming King than *Hezekiah*, After him was none like him amongst all the Kings of *Judah*, neither was there any before him for he clave to the Lord, and departed not from following him, 2 Kings 18. 6. And ne-

yet did man prosper better than he, v. 7. *And the Lord was with him, and he prospered whithersoever he went forth.* See a promise to the case in hand, 1 Chron. 7. 14. *If my people shall turn from their wicked ways (and what is that but reforming?) I will forgive their sin and will heal their land.* The sense and meaning of those words is as much to our purpose as need to be, but they that desire a promise in more express terms (which may be as well applied to us, as the promise made by God to *Joshua*, Josh. 11. 5. was by the Apostle, to all believers, (Heb. 13. 5.) You may read it, Jer. 24. 6. where God having said of the Jews, *They shall return to me with their whole heart,* saith this also, *I will build them, and not pull them down, and I will plant them and not pluck them* p. v. 4.

DISCOURSE XXXVI.

That it might expedite the building of London if all its former inhabitants, were considerably incouraged, to replant themselves within the walls.

I Doubt, that fire which brake down many other walls, will its self prove a wall of partition, (that will never be broken down) between many Citizens, who formerly dwelt together, I mean within the verg, and compass of the City: many of which are now residing in the suburbs, and like to continue there. But should the number of those that shall so do be very great, what was said of *Ruben* might be applied to *London* upon the same account, for the divisions of *Ruben* Judg 5. 15. (and so of *London*) great thoughts of heart. The *Reubenites* there dwelling on the other side *Jordan* (as *Moses* had

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had agreed they should, so soon as they had conducted their brethren into the land of *Canaan*) which they promised to do) and seen them quietly possessed of their inheritance) I say their going to live on the other side of *Jordan*, and not on the same side with their brethren, made that division, or rather was that division, for which there were *many thoughts and searchings of heart*, Numb. 32. v. 16. ad 22. If either a river, or wall should part those *Londoners* whom one City held before, so as the division should be great, and the numbers of excluded or secluded members, (if I may so call them) considerable, it would be very sad. For who will contribute towards the rebuilding, and flourishing of *London*, that hath himself forsaken it: *sine animo redeundi*, without any purpose of returning to it again?

Nevertheless, justly *Londoners* cannot be compelled to plant within the walls again, neither may they be so threatned *as were the Merchants and sellers of ware who lodged without Jerusalem*, to whom *Nehemiah* said, *Why lodg ye about the wall? if ye do so again I will lay hands on you*, Nehem. 13. 21. (I say it were harsh to compel them against their interest, to replant themselves within the walls, sith many of them have taken long leases of their houses in the suburbs, (and indeed could get no shorter) and have given great fines, and know not how to put off the houses they have taken, and to reimburse themselves without unsufferable loss, and diminution. And possibly here and there one, is well scituated for his business, hath found the bees to come swarming over to his new hive; I mean hath as many customers, and as good a trade as ever. Let such dwell in the tabernacles they have purchased, who find it is good being there.

The mean time let all prudent wayes be thought of

of, whereby to invite, and intice burnt-out Citizens, to come back to their old stations, as bees that have taken their flight, are by such noises, as to them are pleasant musick, allured to come back to their hives.

Here I cannot but observe, that in some cases men ought not to be punished for not doing, so and so, when on the other hand, for so doing, they may, and ought to be rewarded, or some wayes considered: or that several things may be encouraged, and and invited to by hopes of reward, which yet may not be imposed with punishments, or threatnings. For *Saul* to promise unto *David* his daughter, to be his wife, in case he did bring him so many fore-skins of the *Philistines*, was but reasonable, but had he commanded him, upon pain of death, or otherwise, to have gone upon that dangerous service, he had been a cruel taskmaster. As to the case in hand, to set a fine upon the head of every Citizen, that would not come back to live in *London*, would be very severe and unjust, though to propose some considerable immunities, and priviledges, to them that shall return, might be a point of interest and true policy.

It is one of the false measures the world hath been deceived by, and hath done a great deal of mischief, viz. that some men have thoughts there was no medium to be used, between rewarding, and punishing; and that all that were not worthy to be rewarded for what they do, ought to be punished, and that if they who did so, and so were worthy of reward, they who did otherwise, or did not as they, ought to suffer; which principle is clearly overthrown by the instances which I have given. If the *Romans* did confer a reward upon every man that was the Father of so many Children, it did not fol-

low that he whose loins had not been so fruitful; ought therefore to have been punished, and to feel the weight of their loins, or so much as of their little fingers; in point of mulct, and infliction.

Rewards to them that do such things will be sufficient in many cases, to cause the generality of men to do them, though not every individual person, though no punishment (farther than the necessity of such a reward) be assigned for them that do them not. A double guard, *viz.* one in the *van*, by encouragements, to them that shall do such things, another in the *rear*, by inflictions upon them that shall not do them, is more than the nature of some things will bear, yea more than is either necessary, or just; as in the case before us, in the exciting of *Londoners* to replant themselves within the walls. Such as have no mind to it let them alone; but such as shall do so, let them want for no encouragement, make it as advantageous to them as it can well be made, let their dignities, and privileges be multiplied, being lookt upon as publick benefactors, and by that means the most will be brought in. I had not insisted so long upon this notion, but that I think if it were applied, and made use of where, and in whatsoever cases it ought to be, it might be of great use.

I shall not take upon me, to tell those that are in authority, what particular rewards, immunities or privileges, should, or might be confer'd, upon those who have, or shall cast their bread upon the waters of *London* as hoping to find it again, though not till after many daies: I mean who have or shall build upon the ruins of *London* with intention to return thither again. I say I shall not presume to specifie, or particularize what might be done for such, for that were to anticipate the wisdom, and kindness

kindness of our Rulers, and Governours, which can better both direct, and prompt them as to that, than I am able to do: sure I am that persons invested with supream authority, do seldom want rewards, and priviledges, to bestow upon them whose designs they have a mind to incourage, and are usually conscious to themselves wherewithall they can do it.

When the Jews went back to their own land, many of them were unwilling to dwell in *Jersalem*, fearing (as is supposed) lest the City should be besieged again, and brought to great streights, *Nehem. 7. 4.* Now the City was large, and great, but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded: what course was taken to rectifie that (for it might not be suffered that *Jersalem* should be but slenderly inhabited) we read, *Nehem. 11. 1.* The Rulers of the people dwell at *Jersalem*, the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in *Jersalem*, and nine parts (viz. of the whole nation) to dwell in other Cities. What was done amongst them by lot, may amongst us by incouragement; viz. the City be planted, and peopled sufficiently.

As where the carcass is, there the Eagles will be gathered together; so where priviledges and incouragements do abound, there will be store of buildings and inhabitants.

DISCOURSE XXXVII.

That to propound to our selves the best of ends in building, or attempting to build the City, may much promote the work,

WE seek another City, a new *London*, we ask it of God ; (who must build the City if e-
ver it be built ;) but as we hope to speed, we must look to our ends in asking it, *James 4. 3. Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that you may consume it upon your lusts.* Though a good end cannot justify a bad action, or any more than excuse it *a tanto*, or in part, yet where the end is bad, the action cannot be good. It is a rule in Morality, that *actiones significantur a fine* ; then, do bad ends always denominate the action bad, how good soever the matter of that action be ; as what is better than prayer and fasting ? yet done for such an end as *Ahab* did it, *viz.* to take away the life of *Naboth*, what could be more abominable ? If *the plowing of the wicked be sin*, as it is said, *Prov. 21. 4.* then the building of *London* may be so too, such, and so bad as the ends of some men may be in the doing of it ; for bad ends, mingled with good actions, are like *dead flies which cause the ointment of the Apothecary to send forth a stinking savour.*

Yet mistake not, as if I suspected *Londoners* to have any such ill design, as *Sanballat* and *Tobiah* did insinuate the Jews to have, when they attempted to rebuild *Jernsalem*, saying, *Nehem. 2. 19. What is this ye do ? will ye rebel against the King ?* I dare say they mean nothing less ; yet from other sinful and unworthy ends in that great undertaking I cannot excuse

excuse all of them, I wish I could, the most, or major part.

Some may design nothing but their own honour, in the stately houles which they intend to build, as he that said *Dan. 4. 30. Is not this great Babylon that I have built by the might of my power, and for the honor of my Majesty?* That is no good end (ultimate end I mean) as appeareth by what befell *Nebuchadnezzar v. 3. Whilst the word was in the Kings mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O King Nebuchadnezzar, the Kingdom is departed from thee.* Others may aim at nothing but gain, and profit, as those *St. James* speaketh of, *Jam. 4. 13. Go to now ye that say, we will go into such a City, and buy, and sell, and get gain.*

I cannot say, that either of these two ends are unlawful, if but subordinate; but if sole, or supreme, they are both so; for a higher end than either of them ought to be aimed at in our most inferior actions, much more in so great an undertaking, witness *1 Cor. 10. 31. Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* Should the glory of God be aimed at, and made our highest end, even in our common eating and drinking; and should it not be so likewise in our building a famous City? shall God have no interest in that more solemn work, or tribute of glory from it?

Some it may be would be resolved how the rebuilding of *London* can make for the glory of God, and may think it is but canting, to speak of such a thing: But they are much mistaken, for doubtless God may have a great deal of glory from such a City as that, if the Inhabitants thereof (and others concerned in it, for they it is that must glorifie God) be but careful to do their duty, and to improve so great and excellent a talent, as a City of

London is, for the honor and service of him from whom they shall receive it.

As the Justice of God was glorified in the destruction of *London*, so may his great mercy be in the restauration thereof: It is the burthen of *David's* Song, Psa. 107. 8. 15. 21. 31. *Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.* Now the rebuilding of such a City as *London* was, will give men great occasion and provocation so to do; and for that, as one great end and reason, it should be desired.

Doubtless it would be a great mercy to thousands of families, which are now incommoded in their dwellings, and for the purposes of their Trade, if *London* were up again, and were they fixed again in their former scituations, and settled in their respective Trades, they could serve God much more without distraction, and with much more chearfulness than now they can, whilst they lie under great inconveniences and discouragements: Now for those ends also (which are pure and pious ends) shall we desire, and endeavour that *London* may be restored: Now the thorns of care spring up, and choak the good seed which is sown amongst *Londoners*, which care would be over in a great measure, if their houses were all rebuilt, and themselves replanted and resettled in every of them.

London hath been as great a bull-work to Religion, and as much a Nursing Mother to it, as almost any it hath had, at leastwise it was in a capacity to have been so, and would be so again, if it were again what it was. Now that is another Christian end which we should propose to our selves in pursuing the restauration of *London*, viz. that it may be a Fortress and Fautrix to Religion; and strengthen the

the hands thereof throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, if not in other places also. *London* hath been that to Religion, that *Locks and Sluces* are to those parts of the *Thames* where the water is but low and shallow, which by lending a flush of waters to the almost exhausted channels, make way for Boats and Barges to pass, that otherwise could not.

Ask Papists if the Protestant Religion would not be much more easily conquerable by them, if no City of *London* either were, or might be suffered to be again; and whether that hath not been always held for a Maxim amongst the Sages of the Religion? one reason of it is this, The greatest strength of a Nation doth lye in that part of it, in which is far the greatest number, and gathering together of people, where it may be there are five to one of them, that dwell together in any other City: I say (*ceteris paribus*) if in other things they be equally strong, that place must needs be strongest, and consequently most able to assist others, or secure it self, its Religion, and other priviledges, in which are most people, and those of good rank and quality, cohabiting and imbodyed together in one and the same Corporation; for *vis unita fortior*, the main Ocean having much more water in it than any particular River, which do all run into it, must needs have a stronger tide, and more forcible stream than any of them hath: So in this case.

I would have no lower, or meaner ends, than those which I have now named, to be highest or uppermost with me, or with any others, as in reference to the rebuilding of *London*; I say no lower to be our ultimate and highest ends in desiring another *London*, than that men might be ravished with the mercy of God in restoring a City to them, and
there

them to it, and give him the glory of it; and that Citizens being delivered from those cares and perplexities which are now upon them, might serve God without distraction, and run the ways of his Commands with cheerfulness, that undone families might be restored to some good way of livelihood, whereby they, and those that shall succeed them, might be not only maintained, but encouraged to *maintain good works* (as the phrase is, *Tii. 3. 8.*) and be more intent upon their general, as they have less trouble from their particular callings, and worldly circumstances: And lastly, that the true Protestant Religion (having the Laws of England on its side) might have also an able Champion to stand up for it, when and so often as *Goliath-like Philistims* shall bid defiance to it, I mean a City able with the blessing of God, to secure it self and the Nation from the violence of those that are the sworn enemies of its Religion.

Now what do I promise to my self would be the fruit and issue of *Londoners* propounding to themselves such ends as these in building of their new City? even that *he who pondereth the heart will consider it*, *Prov. 29. 12.* and *he that loveth truth in the inward parts* (which truth, or sincerity, consists in nothing more than in having our ultimate ends holy and good) will reward it, and bless their enterprize accordingly; that if they ask a City for those ends, they shall have it; if they seek it, for those reasons, they shall be sure to find it; whereas others ask and have not, because they ask amiss, that they may consume it upon their lusts. How did God reward Solomon, and give him more than his desire, for asking what might better conduce to a good end, than most other things, *viz.* wisdom; and for proposing to himself that good end in the asking of it? With that

that passage I shall conclude this Chapter, 2 Chron. 1. 11, 12. And God said to Solomon, because thou hast asked riches, or honor, or long life, &c. but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thy self, that thou mayest judge thy people, wisdom is granted to thee; and I will give thee riches, and honor, such as none of the Kings have had that have been before thee, neither shall any after thee have the like.

DISCOURSE XXXVIII.

That for all men to consider how much it will be for their honor who shall have a great hand in rebuilding the City, would promote the work.

HONOR to our selves (as I said before) must in no case be our ultimate and supreme, but our subordinate end it may be: Solomon saith, *A good name is better than precious ointment*, (Eccl. 7. 1.) and that *a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches*, Prov. 22. 1. If then a moderate pursuit of riches be not unlawful, neither can that of good name be so; nor shall we sin in looking after that precious ointment, provided we do not anoint our selves therewith; as that Text admonisheth, *Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips*, Prov. 27. 2. But it is best of all when mens own works do praise them in the gates; as the phrase is, Prov. 31. 31.

And now I have proposed a work to men (men of wealth and estate) that will certainly praise them in the gates, viz. being very instrumental in rebuilding of the City: He that shall be so, is like to have a name, and a renown upon it. First, The name of a rich man, which some are not a little ambi-

ambitious of : He must needs be rich, will men say, who built so many houses at his own charge, and honestly paid for them when he had done : How few do know, or take notice, what Lands or Demesnes rich men have in the Country ? they lye out of sight ; but he that lays out his money upon building in the *Metropolis* of the Nation, becomes like a Beacon set upon a hill, so conspicuous, that his wealthiness cannot be hid : Now wealth is more an honor to Citizens and Tradesmen, than to Country Gentlemen, because in the former it is generally presumed to be all, or most of it, of their own getting, the fruit of their own industry and ingenuity, which are things worthy of praise : To him that was born, it may be, in some poor thatched Cottage in the Country, to be the owner and builder of many goodly houses in the City, what a renown is it ?

To be a great builder, and to do it well, gives a man the reputation, as of wealth, so of *wisdom*, of which the Scripture saith, that it *maketh the face of a man to shine*. Posterity will think him to have been a wise man, who hath approved himself a wise builder, having built to profit, pleasure, and convenience ; nay, at such a time as this, he that shall lay out a good part of a fair estate upon building the City, is like to purchase to himself the name of a Benefactor, who is one of those *good men* the Scripture speaks of, *for whom some would even dare to die* ; meaning by a good man in that place, one that is a friend to others, a lover of publick good ; one that hath bowels of compassion, a man of publick spirit (as others call him) a Friend and Father to his Country, &c. *A builder of old wast places, a repairer of the breach, and a restorer of paths to dwell in* ; which are mentioned as Titles of Honor, *Isaiab 58. 12.*

And

And thou shalt be called the Repairer, &c.

One more title of honor will seem due to every man that shall imploy a great part of his estate (being considerable) in the rebuilding of *London*; and that is, he will go for a man of courage, a man of a gallant and an undaunted spirit; for men will think if he had not been such, he would not have adventured to have been at so much charge in rebuilding part of a City, almost the whole whereof (but a little before) was burnt down in four daies time. To be courageous must needs be honorable, for fortitude is a cardinal vertue.

Surely he will be thought (at leastwise by posterity) to have been a generous man, and one that was not too fond of the world; a man that was far from making the world his God (as too many do, for *covetousness is Idolatry*;) whosoever he be that shall build a good proportion of the wast of *London*, for had he idolized his gold and silver, he had never exposed so much of it to the hazard of fire, after so late and great a warning, but rather done by it as *Jacob* did by those Wives and children which he best loved, viz. put them in the safest place, (in the rear of his company) lest he should chance to lose them.

Where these five ingredients do compound the oyntment of a mans good name, how precious and how fragrant will his memory be? a wealthy man, by his own industry, and more than that, a wise man, witness both his well-built houses, and the estate he got to build them, a compassionate man, and one that was for publick good; a man of an undaunted courage, a man that could brook to lose the estate he had gotten, or else he had never imployed it so as it might easily be lost; which shews, that though the world had smiled upon him, he did not love it over-

over much, which others are apt to do though it frown.

Who is not ambitious to leave such a name as this behind him? I mean who of all those that are capable of so doing, that have wherewithal, Say not that reputation, and honour, are but meer shadows, and glittering vanities, not worthy to have any thing done for their sakes. For may not the same thing be said of all the things of this world, of which *Solomon* pronounceth *All is vanity and vexation of spirit*, that is, partly so, commixed with vanity. Now all the use we are to make of that consideration is to take heed we lose not the things which are not vaine, and which have no vexation in them, whilst we overeagerly catch at those things which are but vanity, as when men lose Heaven, and their Souls, to gain the world, but amongst earthly things some are more eligible (and consequently less vain) than others (for of vanities the least is to be chosen) for *Solomon* saith *A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches*.

Now all we call upon men for is to exchange a greater vanity, for a less; or to purchase that which is less vain, by parting with that which is more so; that is to purchase a good name, which is the less vanity of the two, by parting with money, which is the greater. Men that have no sense of honour, generally do nothing that is worthy of it, yet I would not have men too fond of it neither. *Est modus in rebus*, Some feel no spur like that of honour, they may be too proud, and ambitious: but they who are past feeling as to any such spur, are commonly sordid, and as much forsaken of a good name, as they do seem to slight, and contemn it.

Say not that the houses thou shalt build may soon be burned again, and there will be an end of thine
honour,

honour. Not so neither (I hope,) ten to one but they will stand longer than you shall live, and be a praise and a renown to you all your daies. If such a thing should happen when you are dead, and gone; it would never trouble you, for as we read, *Job. 14. 21. His sons come to honour, and he knows it not, and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them* (speaking of one that is dead,) the like may be said of houses, as of sons. But for ought you know, those houses which you now build may stand a hundred years together, (as the Royal exchange had done) and it may be a hundred to that, if the building be accordingly : But should they be burned before thy face (as one lately was) that would not lay thy honour in the dust, or cause the houses which thou hast built to be forgotten, but rather to be more remembred, and spoken of (as was the house in *Mincing Lane*, and its owner) so long as there was no general, but only a particular conflagration.

It is usual to call their houses after their names, who are the owners of much building ; as *Fullers Rents*, or the like : but at such a time as this, when building hath so much need to be encouraged, if some greater respects were shewn to them that are great builders, as if their statue were allowed to be set up, or some pillar erected in memorial of what they had done, I think it were not amiss. The Holy Ghost hath erected a golden pillar (for so I may call it) to the perpetual honour of many persons, and families, who in their several proportions, did help to repair *Jerusalem*, not omitting the name of the person, (and he a ruler too) who took upon him to repair the *Dung-gate*, *Nehem. 3. 14. But the dung-gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem : he built it and set up the doors thereof, and the bars thereof.*

DISCOURSE XXXIX.

That if the pleasure that is in Building, were understood by all men, more persons of estates would be engaged in the reedifying of London.

WERE I a batchelor I should be prone to think that marriage were a pleasant estate, and had comforts that did outweigh the troubles of it, observing so many persons to enter into it, a second, third, and fourth time, who had certainly experimented the manifest cares, and circumstances, which attend it. In like manner, though I my self be no builder; nor ever was any such thing personally, yet do I conclude there is a great deal of pleasure in it (to them that have wherewithal) because there are so many who seem to be never well but when they are building, though it expose them to a thousand cares, and difficulties, and turn to no account of profit, nor is like to do, though they be forced to do it with borrowed money, which they scarce know how to pay, &c.

Now what but the pleasure they find in building should make them amends for all their care and trouble, hazard and loss, which they have sustained by it, time after time? notwithstanding which, they are wedded to it, and do persevere in it. I say what but the bait of pleasure tempts them afresh into the same net (in which they have formerly been so much hampered, and intangled) I cannot devize. Surely that pleasure which doth or seemeth, to countervail so much pain and vexation, as building must needs put them to, who are but indigent, and (whose bags and purses have too much room with-
in,

ing, whilst they are building more without) I say that pleasure must needs be very great.

And yet the pleasure which some men have, in and by building, having so great an allay from their cares, and fears, and straits, cannot be half so much as others might have, whose purses and estates are commensurate with their undertakings, and more than sufficient to build what they take in hand.

I confess I would incourage such, and none but such to meddle with building, otherwise than upon necessity. For if the spirit of building fall upon others (those I mean who have not money enough to answer what they do (for a little money will not answer all things, though a great deal can do much) it will certainly cast them one while into the fire, and another while into the water, as was that madman of whom we read, *Mat. 17. 15*. I mean into great perplexities, as is said of him, that *he was sore vexed, &c.* If the pleasure of building be to them so refreshing, as water is to them that bath therein, in the midst of summer: yet the difficulty of it, to men under their circumstances, will torment them like fire. But to them that have money enough and to spare, building is little else but a meer pleasure, greater than that of bathing ones self in a clear, chrystal river, in a scorching day. Building of Cities was that diversion which *Cain* made choise of, when he was most perplexed, and surely he chose that which he found to give him most ease. Many know not what the pleasure of building is, because they never tried it; who should they once try it would find as much pleasure in it, as they that have found most. A manly, noble, useful recreation it is, to those that have a *genius* that way, and can bear the present charge of it; and there

is hardly any thing which may be called, or made a recreation, that is comparable to it. As for chesse draughts, tables, cards, and dice, which prove to many as expensive (if not more) than building it self, what are they but childrens play, like push-pin and shuttlecock in comparison of building? and being such can afford no such content to a large heart, and a generous mind, as building can, which is a recreation like it self.

Were I to give a reason of that vast pleasure which many men do take in building (and more would, if they did but try it) I should chiefly rely upon this, *viz.* that it is natural to men to take delight in all improvements, that are of their own making, to see things, as well as persons, that do (as it were) call them father: to see a handsom, thriving offspring of their parts, pains, and purses, as well as of their bodies, to behold the visible fruit of their minds, as well as of their loins, *ex. gr.* goodly houses of their contriving, bespeaking, &c. Humane nature (as one observes) is not greatly pleased, simply, and only, with our having much, if we make no more of it than it was at first, (as if a man were born to a thousand a year, and should make no more of it to his dying day) but with our making more of what we have, though it be but a little: as if he that was born to nothing, get a small estate about him, that he can make shift to live upon. To bring this down to my purpose, Houses built in those places which were before ruinous heaps, are a visible, and manifest improvement, which being withal of a mans own making, seems to be an honour to him, and to carry some image, and superscription of his worth and wisdom, by whom such improvement was made: goodly and well contrived houses, are (as it were) so many looking glasses,

in which the builders of them seem to see the face of something in themselves that is handsom, happy and excellent : they do as it were stand up and call them blessed, succesful and prudent above many others : (with many other good names) and this is pleasing to men, as it is to beautiful persons to be often looking in the glass. If it be a huge grief, and vexation to men (as it is) to see, and reflect upon those things, which do as it were call them fools, (as if they have been notoriously cheated, and the like) then it must needs be as delightful on the other hand, to contemplate those things which are, or are like to be, great demonstrations, and lasting monuments of their worth, and wisdom, as well-built houses, are commonly thought to be.)

Good men have other, and higher reasons, of that contentment which they take in building, than that which I have given already (though that be common to them also) one whereof is, it is a pleasure to them to set poor men at work, to help them and their families, to live by their honest labour : Another is, it is for the advancement of a publick good; and good men know they were not born for themselves, but also for the good of others; and therefore build they will, though they chance to lose by it, because it is for the benefit of the community that some body should build, and none but such as they who have plentiful estates are fit to do it : What worthy person that hath enough, and to spare, would not be doing something (though himself lost by it, in point of estate) that might be pleasurable to himself, profitable to others, and serviceable to the publick? None are upbraided by ungainful buildings, but those that built for gain, and needed what they built for; but others are perfectly excused by this, they built for their own pleasure,

pleasure, and for the good of others : It is well for us, and happy for others, when we make that our own private pleasure, which is no less a publick good.

DISCOURSE XL.

That men of estates would be invited to build in London, if the advantage which may probably (though not certainly) be made thereof, were duly considered.

IT is not for a Widow, that hath but two Mites, to cast them into the treasury of building ; I mean, for one that is but poor, and hath no more than will just build a house, to lay out all that way ; because though the profit accrewing thereby may be great, (if no casualty fall out) yet casualties lighting upon houses are so frequent, that it can be no mans wisdom to venture all he hath in the world in that one dangerous bottom. But as for those who have fair estates otherwise, upon which they are able to live comfortably if the fire should do its worst to all they have, or mean to have in houses, they are the persons that are cut out for builders ; to them I commend this *Dilemma*, to invite them to turn builders (sith some body must build, and no body is so fit as they) *viz.* the houses you shall build will either stand or fall, be preserved or be destroyed by fire, or otherwise ; if they stand, your gain will be exceeding great ; if they fall, you are able to bear your losses ; if they be preserved, you are more than made (as they say) if they be destroyed, you are far from being undone.

Who would not adventure part of what he hath to make a great deal more of it ? and who can make more of what he hath, but by adventuring it ?

He

He must not keep his money lockt up in his Chests
that would have interest for it, but must put it out,
which he cannot do without some hazard, and yet
who doth it not for improvement sake? Merchants
must venture their goods to Sea, (though not all
they are worth at once) if they will get great e-
states; and venture they do, though they know that
Rents of Land (which they could purchase if they
would) are not so hazardous as goods at Sea. The
Plowman will not sow all the grain he hath, but
keep a part to sell and spend; but neither will he
keep in all out of the ground, fearing he shall
never see it again, but allow enough for his seed,
in hope of a sufficient encrease: Who trades
for all ready money, and trusteth not any one
of his Customers, least he should never be paid? or
who trusts Customers, & makes not some adventure,
in hope that it will turn to accompt, that Proverb
is as true as it is trite, *Nothing venture, nothing have;*
though, *venture all, and lose all*, sometimes proves
as true a saying; therefore the middle way is best;
neither venture all, nor venture nothing, but ven-
ture something, though not all: And if you will
venture (as all wise men think fit to do more or
less) why not upon building; if you have time and
money wherewithall to do it? Wo be to us if no
body would venture, then farewell *London*; if no
body will venture their dust, that must lye in its dust
and ashes.

Possibly you may make a less adventure in laying
out your moneys some other ways, as upon Land,
which is not obnoxious to fire, so as houses are;
but then your profit will be far less; Land may yield
you but four or five in the hundred, whereas you
may probably enough make ten in every hundred,
that you shall lay out in building within the City.

Now all will agree, that the hope and expectation of a greater profit, may rationally induce men to make an adventure, that is proportionably greater. So they say when interest was at ten in the hundred, money had wont to be lent upon more slender security than now it is, when it yieldeth but six *per cent*. You see how hard *David* ventured to be the Kings son in law, even upon the foreskins of two hundred *Philistines* by whose hands *Saul* did hope to have made him fall, 1 *Sam.* 18. 25. but doubtless he would have made no such venture to have been son in law, to an ordinary subject, where the advantage had not been so great, though he had liked his daughter well. He that expects a great return from beyond the seas, must make a proportionable adventure.

Purchasing of lands may prove more dangerous than building of houses in *London*, for the title of lands may be naught, and so all may be lost, not only the crop, but the soil; but for such as shall build in *London*, at this time, all titles are decided, all controversies determined, before they enter upon their work, so that their title is, and will be past dispute. Moreover if fire should burn these houses (which are as it were the crop upon the soil) to the ground again, (which God forbid) yet the soil would still be your own, and that is generally said to be a third, so that your thirds (as I may call them) in *London*, the fire cannot take from you.

Now admit you have ten in the hundred for all you lay out upon building in *London*, if that City, or your houses in it, stand but ten years to an end (as we hope with the blessing of God they may, ten times ten) you will in that short time be repaid your principal.

Then

Then as for Farms in the country, how frequently are they thrown up upon the landlords hands? and no body can be found to hold them without great abatement of rents, so that they often stand untenanted, and unoccupied. But houses in *London* cannot lightly want for tenants, neither is their rent like to fall, but rather to rise, as the City riseth and as trading increaseth.

There have been often whisperings as if the interest of money were like to be brought lower (and motions made to that purpose) viz. to four or five per cent. If it should do so, money would yield but half so much as would the rent of houses, and besides the principal would be in as much, or more danger, of being lost, as our houses could be of being fired: for men do oftner lose their principal by bad debtors, than their houses by fire. The necessity of houses within the walls for the use of Citizens is a consideration outweighing all the rest, as to matter of profit, for that amounts to so much as cannot be well computed. Having then proved in these three last Chapters, that the building of *London*, is *Bonum honestum, jucundum, & utile*, that is, both for the honour, pleasure, and profit of those that have wherewithal to assist in it, let him be thought a person that understands neither one nor the other; that is, a perfect stranger to his own interest in every kind, (and such are counted none of the wisest) who having estate enough otherwise, could with the monies which lye by him, or are at his command, contribute much towards the rebuilding of *London*, and purchase to himself a great interest there, and yet will not do it.

DISCOURSE XLI.

That the burning of a new and stately house in Mincing-Lane, should not deter Londoners from going on with their building, but admonish them to build whole streets together, &c.

LET me take things as they come to hand, I have been lately advertised (and was but yesterday, fully satisfied in it) that building upon the ruins of *London* doth begin to slacken, and that for several weeks past, scarce a fourth part so many have entred themselves into the list of builders, as have done formerly, which some impute to the great discouragement taken by the late burning of a merchants house in *Mincing Lane*, which some are very confident was done on purpose, and merely in design to dishearten, and discourage builders. Whether it were so, or no, God knows, and time will discover. I have heard the reasons of that conjecture (or some of them) but hearing that one is committed upon suspicion of having been an actor in it, shall not presume to rehearse them, or to interpose my private sentiment, be it what it will: who made me a judg, or a determiner in the case?

But admit it were clearly proved (as ever any thing was) that, that new and noble structure, did receive its fatal blow from treacherous and malicious hands, I see no reason at all why *Londoners* should be so far affrighted at it, as to desist from building, taking it for granted if they did proceed, their houses should all in like manner perish, and be destroyed by fire, first or last.

The

The burning of that house (howsoever it was intended, if it were intentional) was (as it proved) but a warning piece to caution others (not against building, but against the occasions, and opportunities of burning) and may (for ought I know) prevent the burning of many more.

Some it may be thought that a new house could secure it self, and was like green wood, that will not take fire, and (if I mistake not) the remedies against another burning of the City, were not to take place till several months hence, as if for present we had been out of all danger, defying all that fire could do to us, partly with our bricks, and partly with the newness of our buildings. But those things we have found to be a refuge of lies, and that in despite of them, we were more secure, than safe. When men find that robberies are committed at noon day (which they expected not, but in the night, or dusk of the evening) they will soon agree to keep a perpetual watch.

Supposing that house to have been wilfully and designedly burnt, it may be some body had a particular grudge at the owner of it, (which yet is more than I know) and seeing it stand alone, thought they might take reveng on him and his, without damage to any body else: and if that were the cause, all have not the same reason to fear: for some may presume they have no enemy in the world so malicious, at least so desperate, as to set fire upon their houses.

If some one or more, had malice enough to prompt them to the burning of that goodly house, yet peradventure they had never made the attempt, if it had not stood by it self, partly out of unwillingness to indanger the neighbourhood against whom they had no controversie, and partly from an apprehension

prehenſion that their deſign could not ſo eaſily have taken effect, by reaſon of one or other that would ſoon have eſpied the fire, and given notice of it to ſuch as were at hand to aid, and aſſiſt, the extinguiſhing it.

And now fearing I have not ſaid enough to prevail with Londoners to build whole ſtreets together (upon which I have ſpent one Chapter already) I ſhall take this occaſion to ſupply what was therein omitted. Some of my arguments may look like a digreſſion from what the title of this Chapter pretends to; but if I ſtep out of my way to do my fellow Citizens a kindneſs, it is I hope but a venial fault. I may go to far in the diſcourſe of building alone, but I am ſure by the inſtance forementioned, I am fairly lead into it. How much eaſier is it to burn thoſe houſes, which ſtand ſcattering here and there, and which may be paſt quenching ere help can come to them, yea burnt to the ground ere any body diſcern them to be on fire, than to do like execution upon thoſe houſes which ſtand in the miſt of neighbours? one or other of which will probably eſpy the danger ere it be paſt remedy, and all of them be ready, to the utmoſt of their power, to put a ſtop to it.

If that be not argument enough for building whole ſtreets together, I could eaſily produce many more. That it were ſo agreed upon, were beſt for them that deſire to ſell their ground, beſt for them that reſolve to build, and beſt for them that would fain build, but fear their money will not hold out. Firſt I ſay it will be beſt for them that deſire to ſell their ground, and have no thoughts to build, becauſe in ſtreets that are intended to be forthwith built, intirely (and conſequently ſoon inhabited, and cuſtomed for matter of trade) the ſoil is like

to yield double that value, that can be expected for in such places, where those few houses that are built, for want of neighbours, are like to stand (no body knows how long) without tenants or (which is almost as bad) without a trade.

As for those that shall build, where a whole street is building together, they will not be afraid to live in their houses when they have done (as others are that have built in solitary places) nor can they want for tenants, if they have a mind to let them, of better quality than Victuallers, and Alehouse-keepers (the usual seasoners of solitary houses, with smoak, and what is worse) nor is it like they should want a trade, such as other places do afford, whilst solitary houses are like to want customers, as much as neighbours, unless the powerful attractive of good liquor, or the desirableness of obscurity for works of darkness, shall draw them thither.

They that have soil of their own, in places that are out of hand, to be intirely built, need not want for money to build their houses, though they have but little of their own. For surely the soil it self, and the rent of such houses, (which we presume will presently be tenanted) will be a sufficient security for so much money as went to the building of them, and who that hath money to spare (as doubtless there are some such) will not lend upon good security, and upon so good an occasion?

Whilst men build successively, and not together, in one and the same street, they give a continual annoyance to one another, and to all that pass by, like them, that would be in an house, in which were several families, and one or other of them, were washing, or scouring every day, one after another; by which means the house would never lie clean. Now the streets cannot be paved, the wayes cannot
be

be made good, filth and rubbish cannot be all removed, because the streets are yet unfinished. We can hardly come at those that have built in some places, for the lets, and impediments we meet with from them that are yet to build.

Houses that stand alone, are like people in a single condition, from whom it is not to be expected they should multiply : but where whole streets are built together, there is as it were a numerous family of married persons, from whom we may look for a second, and third generation, and who may quickly make their present number manifold what it is. Hundreds will be desirous to build near unto those streets (be it but in by-lanes and alleys) where is a neighbourhood, and a trade having an eye to safety, and that there will be something to do : One goodly street would quickly be invironed, and incircled with neighbouring houses, on every side of it ; as if that were the mother, and these the children : (the Olive plants round about her table) that the hen, and these the chickens, gathering about her.

Who cannot easily perswade himself, that if the building of any whole streets together, and at once, (one or more) were agreed upon, that those Honourable persons who are to decide all controversies betwixt man, and man : as to the present building, would so far encourage so good a work, as to vouchsafe those *whole sale Builders*, (if I may so call them) the first hearing and determining of all their Titles, and *post pone* the *retailers*, till they had done with them. Now that by many would be accounted no small priviledg, viz. To have the precedency of building, whilst others must wait several months longer, if not years, ere they can begin to build, for want of a hearing before the Commissioners.

Now

Now these five last paragraphs you may call a digression if you please, but I shall never repent of it, if it may attain its end, *viz.* to prevail with Londoners to build whole streets together (some especially that are of most consideration (and are the greatest roads and through-fares) which till it be done, London will neither have the countenance, nor the convenience, nor the credit, nor the cleanliness, nor the trade, nor the safety of a City; neither will any thing (or very little) be done to those inferiour places, alleys and such like, which are but appendices to more noble streets, and like their hand-maids will wait to see them go up first.

But to return to what I spake of at the first, *viz.* that Citizens should not desist from building, because of that one house, that was burnt in *Mincing Lane*.

First what will all the houses they have built already signifie, if they shall build no more? Is London yet any thing like a City? is it fit for the purpose of trade. Though possibly more than a thousand houses are finished: and three times so many foundations laid? will you lose all the cost and pains which you have been at hitherto? shall your new houses stand untenanted, and go to ruine? shall they have leave to burn them that will, because no body will dwell in them? (for want of neighbourhood and a trade) Is the fine City you had begun upon come to this, or is this all it is like to come to? here a fine house or two in a dirty street, and and there another. Think of that text *Luke 14.30.* *Least all that behold it begin to mock him saying, this man began to build, and was not able to finish.* What is a mother the nearer for having conceived, and bred, with much sickness, and sorrow, if she cannot go out half her time? can she rejoyce in the untimely fruit

fruit of her womb? such a thing is *London* if you now break off.

What discouraged by the burning of one house! The *Israelites* when by Gods command they went to fight against the *Benjamites*, were twice defeated, and lost two and twenty thousand men the first, and eighteen thousand the second time, *Judg.* 20. 21, 25. and yet they went up the third time, and prospered, v. 30. God would teach us an humble dependance upon himself, by some rebukes at first, when yet he hath kind intentions towards us afterwards.

I hear the Gentleman whose house was burnt, is building it again (as fast as he can) and he is to be commended for it. If the daughters of *Sarah* be not afraid of any amazement, as it is, *1 Pet.* 3. 6. Why should they, who profess themselves the sons of *Abraham*? He hath been twice burnt out, you but once, why should you be more afraid to build the second time, than he to build the third? God grant him success answerable to his courage, and others a courage as good as his. Men so resolved, would make those weary of burning, who think to make them weary of building.

Who would comply with the design of an enemy, and gratifie him at the first dash? So do they who are so far discouraged by the burning of that one house, as to desist from building, or from the thoughts of it; for they give them what they desire, whom they presume to have kindled that fire for no other end but to discourage those who had an intent to build.

A wise man will not seem to be moved at those things which are done, or spoken, on purpose to make him angry; as knowing he shall vex his enemy, if he can make him think that he is not vexed by him. *Mical* put an edge upon *David* when she thought

thought to make him leave dancing before the Ark, by scoffing at him, as if he made himself vile, causing him to answer her, *2 Sam. 6. 22. I will be yet more vile than thou*, &c. It were better for us to resolve that for every house they burn we will build two (God permitting) than that we will build no more. If there be incendiaries that burn houses on purpose, ten to one but they will be taken napping (and *ἐκτὸς φασὶν*, as they say) one time or other, and when the actors are discovered, the snare will be broken, and we for the future delivered. If *London* were once up again, (being built as now it is with brick, &c.) It would not be so easy to burn it, as it was before, (though God could melt it down if it were all of solid Gold.) I say in an ordinary way, a general conflagration would be with much more difficulty, and as for particular burnings, men did always venture them, and build as chearfully, as if they had been liable to no such thing.

The excellent way of blowing up houses (little confided in, but rather dreaded before) having gotten into use, and credit, since the burning of *London*, is I am perswaded a great discouragement to the masters of powder plots, from making any more attempts of that nature, with hope of a general success, so that if they still design our destruction, they will take some other course; in reference to which, either to build, or not to build, may be all a case, (I mean) to which neither building will expose us, nor yet forbearing to build will from thence exempt us.

Not to rebuild *London* for fear of enemies and their new attempts, is no better pollicy, than for an army that were routed to refuse to rally and come into order again (though they could) for fear of a fresh onset from the enemy, whom they are in
on

no capacity to withstand, or to defend themselves, unless they rally again and stand to order. My humble advice upon the whole matter is this. Be not terrified at a probable conjecture, so as if it were an absolute certainty. It is yet undemonstrated how that house came burnt, though much feared, and suspected to have been by treachery. Bless God it went no farther. Build not alone but get as many as you can to build near, and about you. Get up the whole City as fast as you can. The more of it gets up, the harder it will be to get it down. Buds are not so easily destroyed as blossoms, or ripe fruit as either of them.

DISCOURSE XLII.

That the due exercise of mercy and charity would promote the building of the City.

AS cruelty is a desolating sin, *Mat. 23. 37.* *Your house is left unto you desolate,* said Christ to *Jerusalem*: upon that account, so mercy on the other hand, is a building grace. It was an act of mercy in the *Egyptian* midwives, and that contrary to a command (but a cruel one) with respect to which we read that *God built them houses, viz.* For saving those poor infants whom *Pharoah* had appointed them to drown. One of the best ways to prevail with God for whatsoever mercy we desire for our selves (whereof the building of *London* at this day is one) is to shew mercy to others. *With the merciful thou wilt shew thy self merciful,* saith the Psalmist speaking of God, *Pf. 18. 25.* We find a bundle of promises, *Pf. 41. 1, 2, 3.* Made to him that considereth the poor, and amongst the rest these two,
viz.

That God will deliver him in the time of trouble, and that we shall be blessed upon the earth, and that God will not deliver him to the will of his enemies. It is yet time of trouble with London, it lieth still as upon the bed of sickness, or languishing, the will of its enemies doubtless is that it should never be rebuilt: let it therefore be merciful to it self, in being merciful to others, that God may deliver it in the time of trouble, strengthen it upon the bed of languishing, and not deliver it into the will of his enemies. It is one of *Solomons* proverbs, *That the merciful doeth good to his own soul*, Prov. 1. 17. meaning himself. In being charitable to others, we are most of all so to our selves. One of the *Psalms* characters of a good man is, *He is ever merciful and doeth good*, (that is be merciful) v. 27. the encouragement followeth, *and dwell for evermore*: *Christ* his counsel is, *Make to your selves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail they may receive you into everlasting habitations*, Luk. 16. 9. and shall they want temporal habitations, who make to themselves friends of that *Mammon*?

But where is mercy and charity to be found? may we not cry out with the *Psalmist*, Ps. 12. 1. *Help Lord for the merciful man ceaseth*; (for so the word chafid translated godly, doth signifie:) May we not say as the *Prophet* of old? *The Lord hath a controversy with the land, because there is no mercy in the land*, Hoseah. 4. 1. that is, there is none in compassion of that which ought to be. There is but a litle of that which looks like mercy, and charity; and part of that which looks like such is not mercy, but partiality, pride, and self love, as I shall shew hereafter. He that is flattered into the relief of those whom he doth relieve; and will relieve none but those

that flatter him, that is, who will in all things say as he sayeth, and do as he doth, and seem to think as he thinks, and not swerve from him to the right hand, or to the left, which must needs be flattery (for it can scarce be, that two men should not be somerimes of two minds) he that hath no kindness for any person (though an honest *Jonathan*) the arrows of whose opinions, or practises, either fly beyond him, or fall short of him: he I say is no merciful man, for he seeketh his own things, and not the things of others, he regardeth his own likeness in other men, but not their wants, and necessities, he doth not good to all that are of the household of faith, much less to all men whatsoever, as he hath opportunity, whereto the Apostle exhorteth. *Solomon* tells us that *the borrower is servant to the lender*, and some think it but reason they should be their slaves, to whom they not only lend but give, and will give to none but them that will be their slaves, or their Apes rather, like vain persons that are in love with *Parasites*, and none but such or like children that kiss the glass in which they see their own faces. But I like the spaniel better that loves his master for beating him (when he deserves it) than that masters humour who loves his spaniel for fawning upon him, and flabbering him. We are commanded *not to have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, with respect of persons*, *James 2:1*. But too many have the love of *Jesus Christ* with that respect. One said, he did love *Christ* dwelling in *Augustin*, but such men love themselves dwelling in others, but not *Jesus Christ*, and his image. They relieve not a Disciple in the name of a Disciple, or a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, to which the reward is promised, but in the name of a fellow Disciple of theirs, not under *Christ*.

Christ, but under Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas.

Go thou partial lover to the good Samaritan, and learn his ways, who finding a naked and wounded man in his way, as he was journeying, never stood to ask him what opinion he was of, but *when he saw he had compassion on him and went to him and bound up his wounds pouring in Oile and Wine, &c.* Luke 10. 33.

Paul tells us Acts 28. 2. *The Barbarous people shew us no little kindness,* and yet Paul and his companions were meer strangers to them, only because *of the rain, and the cold, they received them.*

Serve your own bodies in that fashion, as you serve the mystical body of Christ: Cloath your backs, but starve your bellies, be kind to one part and unkind to another, and see how it will prosper with you. Is charity an evil spirit, that you will confine it to a circle, and that a very narrow one, and fear to let it come out? nay, God himself loves: whom the Heaven of Heavens cannot circumscribe. Give not the world to think that mercy and charity is become nothing else, but oyl powdered in to feed the Lamp of a party, and to keep it bright and burning, but let your compassion be diffused like so much blood, throughout all the veins of Christ his mystical, and suffering body, and assure your selves he loves no Saint (as such) who loves not every Saint, and relieves no man with true compassion, who is not ready in proportion, and to his power, to relieve every man, that stands in need thereof.

But as there is little kindly, and genuine mercy, or charity, in this part of the world, so indeed there is but little of any kind; as there is little reason so there is not much in appearance, unless it be here and there. Men lend to God (for so they are bound to do, who give to the poor) as if they looked

for nothing again, as men use to lend to those who they think never can, nor never will repay them, viz. no more than they need not care, if they throw away, or never see again.

Charity (so called) is usually but the paring of rich mens nails, or the crumbs that fall from their tables: and children have no more from them than dogs may lay claim to, (I mean the children of their heavenly Father, than wicked people (if indigent) might expect. Many may be ashamed to sound a trumpet when they give their alms, or so much as to let their left hand know, what their right hand hath done.

Should I serve up this indictment against all Englishmen, or Londoners, I might well reflect upon my self; as David did upon himself, *Pf. 73. 15. If I say I will speak thus, behold I should offend against the generation of thy children.* For of some I could say as *S. Paul* of the Churches of Macedonia, *2 Cor. 8. 3. To their power (I bear record) yea and beyond, they are willing of themselves.* There are that are ready to every good work. But alas how few are they in comparison of them that are otherwise! As *Salomon* saith, *Prov. 30. 13. There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes, and their eye-lids lifted up?* so may I of some others, there is a generation, O how low and sordid are their spirits? how much harder are their hearts than is the neather millstone? Too many can say to a brother or sister that is naked and destitute of daily food, *Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled, notwithstanding he giveth them not those things which are needful to the body.* Men that have more than heart can wish, of this worlds goods; how often do they shake their heads, and say, alas such a man, or woman hath a great charge, and little or nothing to maintain it with; here their bowels seem to open, but

but they presently shut again: and when they have given them their blessing, which is a short ejaculation, that God would provide for them, and theirs; they seem to think it is enough, as if their blessing, like as is said of *the blessing of the Lord could make men rich*, or supply all their wants!

How vast is the disproportion betwixt the good which some men are able, and that which they do? they give in *forma pauperis*, as some are said to sue, and as if they had more need to receive than to give, as if they were poor Widows they come with their mites. They seem to expect a reward for a cup of cold water (or what is next to that) and should not fail of it, if they had nothing better to give; but as the case stands with them, Christ will never return them wine for that water, and they will find as cold comfort in giving, as others in receiving it. *Go offer it to thy Governour*, said God by *Malachy* to those that brought the blind, and the lame for sacrifice, *for I am a great King*, so to them who bring to this great King such despicable loans (for to him it is lent) we may say go offer it to some person of quality, and see if he will accept it.

Some have thought that a tenth part of a mans annual revenue (that was able to spare it) was a good proportion to be set apart for pious, and charitable uses; and I have heard of a worthy Minister of *London*, who did impose it upon himself to give away so much yearly and found those words made good, *there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth*. But how far are many from *decimating* themselves upon any such account. Possibly not the hundredth part of their yearly revenue, nor the tithe of their tenth, is put to any charitable use, though they read of holy *Jacob*, who made this voluntary vow to God,

Of all that thou shalt give me I will give the tenth to thee, Gen. 28. 22. Of many it may be said, freely they have received, but how unfreely do they give? The rule is, *He that giveth with simplicity, he that sheweth mercy with chearfulness, Rom. 12. 8.* But how many give as if they gave with an ill will, as if it were rather to save their credit, or to stop the mouth of their consciences, than to relieve their needy brethren? nor can they handsomly with that may do them much good, which is of it self so little. If I might coin an odd expression, or two, for an odd thing, I would say the world were full of scrap-kindness, and fragmentall charity, a few gleanings, but nothing of the sheaves, a few heat-drops as it were, that never soak to the root. Here and there is a *Dives*, a rich man that hath never a child, or but one or two, &c. who if he had ten could have made a liberal provision for every one of them, yet scarce any body is the better for him, worth the speaking, nor would he grudge to spend upon every one of his children (if he had twenty) annually more, than now he yearly expendeth upon all that which he calleth his charity.

Compare the bounty of many to their meer lusts, and humours, consider how much they spend yearly, only to please their phantasies, in their most wanton and unaccountable desires, so much for such a picture, so much for such a flower, so much extraordinary for a horse of such a shape, and colour: (and money so laid out they never grudge to part with though it might as well have been spared) I say compare their bounty to their childish insatiable fantasies (always prompting them to superfluities and costly vanities) with their liberality to good uses, and you wil find the former hath a *Ben-jamins* portion in comparison of the latter, double at least,

least, that cost, and charg, bestowed upon it, and with more chearfulness.

If rich men are but stewards, and not Lords of the estates which they possess, having enough amongst them for the relief of those that are their fellow servants, made poor by the providence of God, partly on purpose to try and exercise their faithfulness and compassion (who bear the purse as well for others, as for themselves) I wonder what account they either will or expect to give of that their stewardship!

Some think to avoid that charg at the great day *Mat. 25. Ye saw me hungry and fed me not, naked and cloathed me not* (meaning by Christ the members of Christ) who will not avoid it, for that they fed Christ but with scraps, and cloathed him but with rags.

Other nations (as they say) do far surpass and quite shame us in point of charity. In *Holland* (they say none are suffered to begg, and yet none are suffered to want, all their poor are provided for, but in this part of the world, poor people must beg or want, yea may beg and want too.

It is a rule which admits of some exceptions, but is too generally true, that they who have most, are willing to part with least, those that have many children, and but midling estates, do more good many times than they who have great estates, and few, or no Children: They that have but two talents, are generally more bountifull then those that have five, as vessels that are not so full have better vent than others have, that are as full as they can hold. Good uses must needs be ill supplied, whilst all the burthen, or the greatest part of it, lieth upon weaker shoulders; as water must needs be scarce, whilst fountains are stoppt, though cisterns

run ; and it must needs be night in the hemisphere, when the sun is withdrawn, though the stars be kind, and hang out all their lights.

Now understand what I have said, as a plea for charity not so much from *Londoners*, or the generality of them, (who have been greatly exhausted, and are rather objects of charity, than fit to be the subjects of it) but for, and towards them, or so many of them as are brought into a low condition, whose necessities cry aloud to all rich men, especially of the same body, as that man of *Macedonia* did to *Paul*, *Acts 16. 9. Come over and help us.* As the Apostle saith in another case, *They that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves,* so say I in this, the strong in purse should help the weak, and not please themselves, with thinking that they have a redundancy, whilst others want a sufficiency : but as the Apostle saith, *that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want,* *2 Cor. 8. 14.* You may need them another time, as the Apostle addeth, *That their abundance also, may be a supply for their want, that there may be equality.*

There could not want money to build this ruined City, if all men of considerable estates would concern themselves in it, and do as the Jews did by the wall of *Jerusalem*, every one that was able taking his part, *Eliashib the High Priest with his brethren the Priests, built the sheep gate, and next unto them builded the men of Jericho, and next to them builded Zaccur the son of Imri, Nehem. 3. 1, 2. &c.* Say there were fourteen, or fifteen thousand houses burnt in *London* : are there not as many thousand rich men in City and country, some of which were able to build many houses, and do themselves no hurt, and all were able to build some ? which being so ; methinks

methinks it were a stark shame that *London* should lie in the dust, or hang long in hand, as if all *England* could not spare money wherewithal to rebuild it.

Methinks it is not handsome, it is not kind, (I had almost said it is unnatural) for a rich *Englishman*, a rich *Londoner* especially, to dye and bequeath nothing to *London* (in the case it now is) in his last will and testament. Where can you find a better friend, or one that more needs it to receive part of your last kindness, and of that estate which you cannot carry out of the world with you, than is your dear mother the City of *London*, who now sits as a widow, who now cries out to them that go by pity me, pity me all ye that pass by, is there any sorrow like to mine? *Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fiery anger?* Lam. I. 12.

A sacrifice well pleasing to God, might do much for the poor desolate City, and what is such the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* tells us, *Heb. 13. 16. To do good, and to communicate, forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well-pleased.*

DISCOURSE XLIII.

That the promoting of Love, and Amity throughout the whole nation, would much conduce to the rebuilding of the City.

IF *England* were at unity with it self, if all the inhabitants thereof were in charity with one another, if fellow subjects had that love, each for other, that fellow members of the same body should, and use to have, or which the members of each body use to have for their head, (for so is *London* to the other Cities and Towns of *England*) then might we confidently expect to see *London* up again in a very short time, and like a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, deckt, and trimmed. Whilst our heats, and animosities continue, whilst we bite, and devour one another, methinks the fire of *London* is not quite out, but it doth reack, and smoke still, so far is it from being perfectly restored, and compleatly rebuilt. But were we all of one heart (though not of one mind) could we hit upon it to love as brethren from *Dan* to *Bersheba*, (I mean from one end of *England* to the other) were all Englishmen compassionately affected with the loss of *London*, and passionately desirous of its restauration, *London* would spring up again like *Jonah's* gourd (as it withered like that) I mean in as short a time, for a great City to spring up in, as one night was for a gourd.

No grace like that of love for matter of building, it builds up the body of Christ (the best of fabricks) *From whom the whole body fitly joyned together, and compacted by that which every joynt supplieth,*
maketh

the increase of the body, unto the edifying of it self
 love. Eph. 4. 16. and sith it doth do so, what
 building is there that love cannot promote? How
 much concerned were the Israelites to restore the
 tribe of Benjamin, Judg. 23. 6. They repented them-
 selves Benjamin and said, there is one tribe cut of from
 Israel this day. They destroyed the inhabitants of
 Jabesh-gilead, for not coming up to Mizpeh, and gave
 them their daughters to wives: to the number of
 four hundred, which proving not to be enough, they
 put them upon taking every man of them a wife of
 the daughters of Shiloh, when they came out to
 dance; practices which I know not how to justifie,
 and therefore propose to imitation no more but
 this, that others would be as earnest for the restau-
 ration of London, as they for the restoration of Ben-
 jamin, (though not in the use of indirect means)
 and so it will be, if that love be found amongst
 English men that ought to be. They said (There
 must be an inheritance for them that are escaped of Ben-
 jamin, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel, Judg.
 23. 17. So would hearty, and universal love, each
 to others, make all Englishmen to say, there must
 be houses built for them that were burnt out of Lon-
 don; there must be another London, that a tribe (or
 what is more than so) may not be destroyed out of
 England, the utter destruction whereof we will la-
 bour to prevent with our heads, and hands, and pur-
 ses, and prayers, and with whatsoever else we can
 use and improve for that purpose.

Now if the whole nation would ingage it self,
 one way or other, in the restoration of London, and
 put to its helping hand, how quick a dispatch would
 be made, as if Orpheus with his harp had made the
 timber and bricks, and stones to come leaping to-
 gether, and orderly to dispose of themselves one
 by

by another, as the Poets fained, that he made the woods, and mountains to dance after him.

But the great difficulty will be to shew how, and by what means, the people of *England* which are now so much at variance, and enmity, with one another, may be brought first not to hate (for that must be the first step) and then to love, and affect one another.

Loving parents cannot indure to see feuds, and fallings out amongst their children, to hear them wrangle one with another, much less to see them fight: nor if there be none of all that betwixt them, are they sufficiently pleased, unless they observe them to have a hearty kindness each for other, and to love one another, as brethren and sisters ought to do, who sprang from the same loyns, and lodged in the same womb: and when they see that, how great is their joy!

But (as I said before) the first step must be to take men off from hating one another (a disease to epidemical in *England* at this day) for which I would to God I could propound a sure, & certain remedy. How and by what means, the father of a private family, may keep his children from hating, and maligning one another; from fighting or falling out each with other, is within my sphere to discourse of, and may be no presumption in one who hath been, and is the father of so many children as God hath made my self, to pretend experience in. I shall therefore make bold to direct in that case (though not to say what would destroy all, or the most of that enmity, which is between fellow subjects, who have all one common and political Father, and in that sence are brethren.

If parents would not have their children to hate one another, they must carry an even hand towards them,

them; not manifesting much more of love, and respect to one of them, than to another, least of all so carrying themselves as if some of them had all their love, and they had none at all for the rest. Parents should temper their love and respect to their children, (or the expressions of either) though not, *ad pondus* yet *ad justitiam*, that is, though not to shew so much respect to those that are but boies, and girles, as to those of them, that are Men and Women, yet as much to the younger, in proportion to their years, as to the elder in proportion to theirs, and so to those that are of meaner rank and quality, and apparently of less desert, ought they according to their quality, and desert, to give respect proportionable, to what they give to the rest. If this be not done, and if some children of the same parents, be used by them with too much respect, and tenderness, others with too much neglect, and hardship, the latter of these will certainly envy the former, as *Joseph's* Brethren envied him, because his Father had made him a parti-coloured coat, which he had done for none of the rest: especially if parents do respect those children most, which seem to deserve least, it will create a world of envy, witness that passage of the prodigals brother, who when he saw, how his brother was treated beyond what himself had ever been, said to his Father, *Loe these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandments, and yet thou never gavest me a Kid, that I might make merry with my friends, Luk. 15. 29.*

Brethren and sisters must not be suffered to father odious, and invidious names upon one another, least thereby they be exposed to each others hatred. We read of *Joseph's* brethren, that, *They said one to another, behold this dreamer, (or master of dreams)*

cometh,

cometh, Gen. 37. 19. and the next words are, *Come now therefore and let us slay him, and cast him into the pit.* It was not for nothing that Christ was pleased to say, *Whosoever shall say to his brother Raca, shall be in danger of the cancell, but whosoever shall say thou fool shall be in danger of Hell fire,* Mat. 5. 22. Our Saviour well knowing the provoking nature of disgraceful names.

Brethren must not be suffered to put ensnaring questions to one another, like that riddle which Sampson put to the Philistines, merely to insnare, and take an occasion against them, *Judg. 14. 12.* And Sampson said, *I will now put forth a riddle, if ye cannot declare it me, ye shall give me thirty sheets, and thirty change of garments:* but what came of it? see, v. 15. *It came to pass on the seventh day that they said unto Sampsons wife, entice thy husband that he may declare unto us the riddle least we burn thee, and thy Fathers house with fire, have ye talked us and take what we have? is it not so?* What did it end in but wrangling, when they saw themselves insnared? Therefore I say parents must not suffer their children, to pore and puzzle one another, with hard and unnecessary questions, to engage one another in intricate disputes (upon great penalties, to the loosing side) for certain it is that will end in quarrelling, and that quarrelling in hatred and detestation.

Parents must not put their children upon doing ill offices one to another (though they are such as are necessary to be done by some other hand) for that will make them hate one another. What wise Father if he had a Sergeant to his son, would employ him to arrest his own brother? (though for ever so great and just a debt) as knowing it would be worse taken from him, than from a stranger, and that it is an office ill taken from whomsoever doth it.

How angry were *David's* brethren with him when they did but suspect him to have come towards them in the nature of a spy? It would be unbecomingly for one brother to be made to scourge another (whatsoever his fault were) a Father would not be hated for doing it himself; upon a just occasion, but so would a brother.

Parents must not incourage their children to complain of one another, and to tell tales of one another, unless the fault committed be manifest, and considerable. It is said that *Joseph* brought to his father their evil report, viz. The evil report of his brethren, with whom he fed sheep: but did he not lose their love by so doing? is it not probable that was one reason for which they hated him? viz. for that they lookt upon him as a tell-tale, and an informer, which sort of people are always odious (especially where the thing informed against is not universally odious) and therefore (saving in great cases) had need to be taken up by none, but those whose office it is, and they had need be well paid for it.

Greatly discountenance that hatred, and disaffection which doth at any time discover it self, in brethren or sisters one against another, and let them see you cannot bear it, especially if you discern one to hate another, for that for which they should love them, viz. for their goodness, for being better than themselves. The spirit of Cain is in too many families, of whom we read that he was of that wicked one, and slew his brother, and wherefore slew he him? because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous, 1 John 3. 12. There are that speak evil of others, because they run not with them into the same excess of riot.

Let all superfluous occasions of wrangling, be taken out

out of the way. *Saul* adjured the people, that when the *Israelites* were in pursuit of the *Philistines*, that no body should eat any food, that day till the evening: now suppose that hundreds of the people, being faint, and weary had done as *Jonathan* did, and thereupon *Saul* had caused the rest to have informed against them that had so done, what a deal of hatred, and heart-burning had that procured? and how much better had it been that the people had never been so adjured? Some humourfome schoolmasters have made such useless rules, and orders for their schollars to observe as have procured nothing but perpetual trouble to themselves, from the complaints of boies given to tell tales, and hatred to those boies that were so given. The like it may be have some parents done amongst their own children, who afterwards have seen their errour.

If any differences arise amongst your children, take notice of them, interpose, and compromise them presently, least the wound of anger, and dissension, not taken in time should fester into hatred. As soon as they begin to be foes, make them friends again, for as *Solomon* saith *The beginning of strife, is as when one letteth out water, therefore leave of contention before it be medled with.* Clap down the sluice presently, remembring that proverb, *Prov. 13. 19. brother offended* (viz. so long, as till he hath fortified himself in the Castle of his anger) *is harder to be wooon than a strong City, and their contentions are like the bars of a Castle.* Small heats and differences in the Church (I mean that were such at first), when no course hath been taken for reconciliation, have in several ages broke out into a great flame, which hath made woful havock. How much more may a particular family be ruined by an unregarded difference, which was but small at the first.

Lastly

Lastly, as you would not that your children should hate one another, never suffer them to aveng themselves, how much soever they be, or think themselves to be wronged, I say let them never be their own judges, and avengers, but submit themselves to the determination of their parents. He upon whom wrong is taken for the present, will seek to be revenged again of him that took it, for though persons will acquiesce in the decision of a lawful judg (as a Father is amongst his children) yet they will never admit of him for a judg, whom they know to be a party. Duels are seldom the end of strife, and boies that fight, and are beaten one day, will try to recover their credit another, not taking the victory before obtained against them, as any lawful determination.

Let parents when appealed to, always do their children right, though they have more affection for one than for another, let them never humour that child which they love more, by wronging that child which they love less: for justice is as due to one as to the other, and besides that, the child whose injury is confirmed upon him, by the partiality of his parents, will be tempted to bear a greater grudge to the injurer, whose part is taken against him, than ever he did before, whereas he could easily have forgiven the wrong which his brother did him, if his Father would but have done him right.

These rules may do service in a family, and how much farther they are capable of being extended, or how far forth the practise of them may take of a publick and national enmity, I leave to others to judg.

It was needful to shew how hatred might be removed, or prevented, because without that be done, there can be no love, but yet the meer absence of a

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publick

publick hatred, and enmity will not build our City, without the presence of love. They that have no hatred to *London*, will not hinder the building of it, but enither will they help it, who have no love thereto.

But what can be done to make men love one another? what *philtrum* may be used in the case? I am resolved, as I am a Father what to do: my children shall see, that next unto the expressing of their love to God, I am not better pleased with any thing than with the expressions of their love to one another. If they speak kindly to one another, I will give them two good words for one, if they signify their love by any handsome guift, or, token, I will take a time to give them twice the worth of it, if they incourage one another in any thing that is good, I will give them double incouragement when they do well. Let children but observe that their parents are greatly delighted with their loving one another, and that they win the hearts of their parents by it (who cannot indure to see them morose, and churlish to one another, harsh and unkind, and are sure to meet with them for it, as oft as they observe them in such an humour, they constantly fare the worse for it, and with them when they are froward one to another, their parents shew themselves froward (as God is said to do) I say when children shall come to understand and experiment this, those sparks of love to one another which they had before, will hereby be blown up into a flame.

Call upon children to condescend to one another, and cause them to bear with one another, if you would have them to love one another. Condescension may as well make way for love, as love for condescension: it may as well be the cause, as the effect of love. Where there is no yielding but
each

each party stands upon his punctillio's, there can be no agreement, and where there is no agreement how can there be love? Persons that are in treaty of marriage have sometimes a mutual, and reciprocal love, but some things there are which both parties stand upon, and neither will condescend to, and so the match breaks off; whereas if any third person could have over-ruled them, as to the punctillio's they stood upon, and made them mutually condescend, the match had gone on, and their love had daily increased. I remember the time when a certain colledg, at that time full of factions and divisions, of alienations, and estrangements, betwixt party and party, did at last condescend to one thing, *viz.* To have a publick common chamber, to which it should be free for all the fellows of that house to resort, every day, and converse together, as much and as often as they pleased. This one condescension put in practice, brought them to a right understanding each of other, and made them (so far as I could observe) to love one another ever after: which instance I bring to shew that a little condescension may make way for a great deal of love. The use of a moderator (as such) what is it but to make each party remit of its extreams, and condescend unto the other so far as is just and fit? that at last they may come to a good compromise; and by that name his sacred Majesty is sometimes called, being stiled *supreme moderator*. Pride is a great obstruction of love and peace, for *only of pride cometh contention*, saith the scripture, now condescension is some abatement of pride, and therefore must needs tend to the advancement of love.

Another course I would take to promote love amongst my children, should be this. I would hai-

mostly resent it, if I knew of any body that went about to set them together by the ears, to breed quarrels, and differences amongst them : had I a servant so given, he should never stay in my house ; on the other hand, I would call upon those that are about me, my Wife, my friends, my servants to exhort and admonish my children, to love one another, to let them know how great a duty it is, how pleasing to God, how delightful to parents, and to press it much upon them : and but that I would not presume to speak like *Absalom*, saying were I a great Magistrate, &c. I would say, were I such a one, I would recommend it to Ministers every where to press the great duty of love to our neighbour, which is a moiety, or the one half of the Law of God, and hath as great a tendency to establish a Kingdom, and to make it flourish, as any thing that I know, and to farther each particular grand design, such as is the building of *London*.

I think of another honest policy I would use to make my children love one another, *viz.* I would put them upon doing good offices one for another, unbeknown to them that they were instigated thereto, any otherwise than by their own love, and good will. If I threaten to correct one child, I would get another brother or sister to beg his pardon, with as much earnestness, as if it were for himself. I would now and then put a token into one child's hand, to present his brother, or sister with, as if it were of his own cost and charge, that what he hath sown at my cost, he may reap in an increase of love to himself, as if it had been at his own. I know as my employing them in bad, and thankless offices one towards another, would purchase their mutual hatred to one another, so my putting them upon offices of love, and kindness each

to other; would ingratiate them with one another, and increase their love, as being mutual benefactors, and promoters of each others good.

Did I see a child that were of a better humour than the rest, who both by his example, and counsel, did most promote peace, and love amongst the rest of my children, I would let that child know that no natural, or moral excellency whatsoever, could more have endeared him to me than that hath done; and on the other hand, that the greatest excellency of wit, and beauty would not with me expiate, and compensate that vice, or ill temper, which is contrary thereunto, *viz.* a disobliging, provoking carriage, a harsh and unkind disposition.

Now what I have said touching the way and means of promoting love in a particular family, will appear more pertinent to the title of this Chapter, if an expression which St. Paul useth, 1 Cor. 4. 6. be here considered of, *these things I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos.*

Having propounded divers other means for the promoting of an universal love (though not every where under that name) that of prayer to God (that universal remedy) ought by no means to be passed over in silence with which I shall close this Chapter.

O God thou art filled love it self, for we read, 1 John. 4. 16. that *God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.* Gal. 5. 21. *We are variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, &c.* These are the works of our flesh which are manifest, howbeit thou hast said, *He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death, and whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer,* 1 John. 3. 15. We pray thee do thou cause brotherly love to be, and to continue amongst us, give us to be kindly affectioned one to another,

ther, then shall we experiment what thou hast said, viz. How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity, as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion, for there the Lord commanded his blessing, even life for evermore, Ps. 133.

DISCOURSE XLIV.

That the grace of Humility, and the exercise thereof might conduce much to the rebuilding of the City.

CAN London be lifted up after it hath been so much cast down? can there be Pride in London, after it hath been so much humbled by so great a Plague, so great a fire, so great a dearth of trade? you may as well ask whether it were possible for the heart of *Pharaoh* to be hardened after so many Plagues? and yet the last left it rather more hard than the first found it. How proud are the fallen Angels themselves, though God hath laid them as low as Hell? insomuch that the Devil tempted our Saviour to fall down and worship him.

Alas how many lives hath pride? after it hath been in deaths often (as one would think) I say after it hath been exposed to many deaths, yet said behold it lives. Pride is one of the *sponæ nascens*, one of those weeds which spring up of its own accord, and never need to be sown. We find these expressions, *Job. 8. 11. Can the rush grow up without mire? can the flag grow without water?* the meaning is they cannot rise up; (or pride themselves, as one rendereth it, the word being the same as is used for pride, *Prov. 15. 25. and Isa. 16. 6.*) unless the rush have mire to cherish it, and the flag have water:

but

but Pride in men and women, is such a thing, that it will spring up where one would think there were no water to cherish it, it will blaze out where one would think there were no fuel to feed that fire, men will be proud of any thing, rather than be proud of nothing, proud of their shame (glorying in that as the Apostle speaks) before they will be ashamed of their pride.

To be humble is one thing, and to have cause for it is another. Pride was a sin that crept into Paradise, and ever since it hath crept in every where, and discovers it self to be in every heart more or less. Surely the fire (as great as it was) hath not consumed all drops. I doubt such demonstrations as the Prophet gave of the *Israelites* their pride, *Isa. 3. 16.* may be given of ours, after all that we have suffered *The daughters of Zion are haughty and walk with stretched forth necks, walking and mincing (or tripping softly as it is in the margent) as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet. If lofty eyes, if eye-lids lifted up, (Prov. 30. 13.) if a proud look be signs of pride (as Solomon doth intimate that they are) if a haughty supercilious countenance, if a stately disdainful carriage be demonstrations of pride, there is still to great a remainder of that sin even in London it self: if an affectation in persons to live above the rate of their condition, to habit themselves as if they were richer than they are (out of a desire to be thought so, merely for the honour of being accounted rich.) If exercising mens selves in things that are too high for them, if an unwillingness in men, and women to leave of their ornaments, as did the *Israelites*, when God threatned to depart from them, *Exod. 33. 4.* Do shew a want of humility, then I am sure humility is wanting. When God did but threaten to come down in the midst of the*

Israelites, and consume them, he said by *Moses* therefore now put off thine ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee, *Exod.* 33. 14. God hath actually consumed us, and yet we have refused to put off our ornaments, I mean such, and so many, as so great a judgment did call upon us to lay aside. Do not some live at the same height in all respects as they did before the City was burned? (though they themselves were great sufferers thereby) as if they were resolved not to change countenance, or to seem moved in the least at any thing that God had done against them, like sturdy boyes that will not shed a tear, though they are whipt till the blood come.

If we for our parts be not thoroughly convinced, that we were worthy of so great a punishment as to have our City burnt, and to sustain all that loss which any of us, for our own particular, did sustain thereby and that we really deserve never to see our own houses built again, much less the whole City together with them, if we think it was for other mens sins only, and not for ours amongst the rest, that God gave *London* to the flames, or that it was not from any controversie that God had with *London*, that it was burnt, or from any controversy that God had with us, that our particular houses were burnt, but meerly from the malice and treachery of men. I say if we so think, we are unhumbl'd to this time, then do we in our hearts contend with God, and charge him foolishly, and sure I am, that, *only of pride cometh that contention.*

If to this day we are seeking great things for our selves, viz. a great renown by the houses we have built, or do intend to build (which is more than a convenient memorial :) if we are ambitious of vast trades (as great or greater than ever) hoping
by

by that means to run through all the signes in the Zodiack of that honour which *London* can confer (not content with a reasonable trade, such as may be sufficient for us,) if we aspire to have *London* after the fire, forthwith excel it self in all other worldly things, as much as it is like to do in the magnificence of its buildings, and cannot be satisfied in the thoughts of its doing otherwise: (as a man whose profession obligeth him to wear good cloaths, ought to be content if he cannot purchase every thing accordingly) I say if we be conscious to our selves of all, or of any of these things, certainly we are proud, and that in such a kind, and to such a degree; as may hinder the building of our City, viz. by provoking God to blast that worthy undertaking: for the scripture saith, *Prov. 29. 23. A mans pride shall bring him low*, and *Prov. 16. 18. Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall*, and *Prov. 11. 2. When pride cometh then cometh shame*, all which passages do shew, that pride may contribute much to the pulling down of a City, but never to the building it up.

Therefore in order to the building up of *London* I commend the grace of Humility, for *contraria est ratio*, contraries have contrary effects; If a mans pride will bring him low, then as *Solomon* addeth in the same verse *honour shall uphold the humble in spirit*, *Prov. 29. 23.* If pride goes before destruction, humility goeth before exaltation, and if a haughty spirit before a fall, then a lowly spirit before a rise, and if with pride cometh shame then where humility is, mens hopes and designs do usually not make them ashamed, that is, do prosper and take effect.

Here I expect to be asked what is humility? as *Pilate* put the question, *what is truth?* The answer

is at hand, humility is that grace, whereby we are inclined, *not to think of our selves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly, according to the measure which God hath dealt to every one.* That description I gather out of *Rom. 12. 3.* Humility is radically seated in that faculty of the soul which is called the *Judgment* or *understanding*, in that faculty is the root of that matter. It is true there are several branches of it, but they do manifestly spring from that root, *viz.* from sober thoughts of our selves, or not thinking of a mans self above what he ought.

A man may think himself as good as he is to the full, and yet not be proud, provided he do not think himself to be better than he is, or stretch himself beyond his line. He that thinks himself to be no better than indeed he is, (all things considered) cannot but be humble. *David* professeth his humility, *Pf. 131. 1, 2.* *Lord my heart is not haughty, nor my eyes lofty: neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me, surely I have behaved and quieted my self, as a child that is weaned of his mother, my soul is even as a weaned child.* From those words I gather, that though Humility be first (at least in order of nature) in the intellect or judgment, as the ointment was poured out first upon the head of *Aaron*, yet as that precious ointment ran down upon *Aaron's* beard, and upon the skirts of his garment. So this grace diffuseth itself into the affections of men, and into the course of their lives, which I collect from two expressions used in that profession of Humility which *David* there maketh: first (saith he) *I have quieted my self as a child that is weaned of his mother*, that passage seemeth to relate to his affections, which are the tumultuating, raging part of the soul, and therefore are called

called the ebbings, and flowings, or the tide of the will, and therefore quieting is most properly to be refer'd to them. His meaning seemeth to be, that whereas before he had strong, and impetuous desires, (a great ambition) to some things which God now were yet to high for him, as namely to come to the throne, which God had promised him, I say whereas before he longed to be in possession of that earthly Kingdom, which was promised him (as a child might long for the breast) yet now God had humbled him, for so he saith, *my heart is not haughty*, he had no more desire to it (till the time that God had appointed should be fulfilled) than a child hath to that breast, from which it hath been fully weaned.

A mean and modest opinion, and judgment of a mans self, killeth ambition at the very root, and mortifieth our desires to those things that are too high for us, as being sensible they would not become us; as a poor labouring man is not ambitious to ride up and down in a Coach continually, as knowing it would no ways suit his birth, and breeding, and poor condition.

He then is an humble man, who desires not any thing that is too great for him (as too great an esteem, &c.) and therefore desires it not because he is sensible he doth not deserve it, it would not become him as *Solomon* saith, *Excellent speech becometh not a fool*, Prov. 17. 7. *And honour is not seemly for a fool*, Prov. 26. 1. It would ill become him, as a Crown and Scepter, would do the head, and hand, of one that is but a mean subject. Men are not ambitious of those things that are extreemly above them, because they cannot but see, and know that they are above them, but of such things as are not very much too high for them, proud men are ambitious, because their pride and self-love causeth them

them to think they may and do deserve them. Now an humble man not thinking of himself above what is meet, knows what he deserves not, and thereupon desireth no more than what he doth really deserve, and consequently is not ambitious, for ambition is the desire of things that are too high for us.

Then from those words of *David*, *nor my eyes are not lofty, neither do I exercise my self in things too high for me*. I say from thence may be collected that the grace of Humility, as it is poured into the affections, so it is poured out upon the life, as it is impressed upon the whole inward man, so it is expressed in the outward; an humble inside and a proud outside, are inconsistent: an humble heart, and a haughty look, a heart cast down with true humility, and eyes mean time lifted up with pride, and a person exercising himself generally in things that are too high for him, are incompatible. Now the two latter, *viz.* The not exercising himself in things that are too high for him, and the quieting of himself as a weaned child, did proceed from the first, *viz.* that his heart was not haughty, that is, that he had no high conceit of himself, and of his own deserts. Nor do I remember any one expression whereby humility is set forth, and recommended, that is not reducible unto mean thoughts of a mans self, or not thinking of our selves more highly than we ought, as the root and original of it.

One phrase whereby the Apostle expresseth Humility is this; *In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves*, Phil. 2. 3. And to like purpose with that, are those words, Rom. 12. 10. *In honor preferring one another*. What but mean thoughts of a mans self doth make him, in honor to prefer others, and to esteem them better than himself? neither need any man to misconceive of him-
self,

self, or think of himself worse than he is, that he may think others better than himself: that is, *secundum quid*; I mean so in one respect, or other. For they that in most things excel others, are usually in some things excelled by them. *1 Cor. 12: 8. For to one is given by the spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledg, to another faith, to another the gifts of healing, to another prophecy, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.* Humility gives a man to see, and own what gift another man hath, which he hath not, or not in so eminent a degree, and measure, as another hath it. So when the Apostle saith as it is, *Rom. 12: 16. Mind not high things but condescend to men of low estate* (or be contented with mean things, as it is in the margent) he adds that which if practised, will cause men to condescend, and that is, *Be not wise in your own conceits,* or have low thoughts of your selves. Humble looks, humble gestures, humble speeches and expressions, an humble, modest, plain garb, and habit, and self-abasing equipage (as was that of Christ when he rode upon an asse, the foal of an Asse) so far as there is sincerity in those external appearances (which I add because some in such things may but, *induere personam*; that is, may but act a part) do all spring from lowly thoughts of our selves: as did the meek carriage of the *Publican Luk. 18. 10. And the publican standing afar off would not lift up so much as his eyes to Heaven but smote upon his breast saying God be merciful to me a sinner,* which last words give an account of all the former, he was cast down with the thoughts of his being a great sinner, and that made him do as he did.

Every man would think me anly of himself, and be little in his own eyes, if he did think soberly of himself, and not more highly than he ought, or
hath

hath reason to think, for the scripture saith that *every man at his best estate is altogether vanity*, Pl. 39. 5. *and surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lye, to be laid in the ballance they are altogether lighter than vanity*, Pl. 62. 9.

We say of proud people that *they do not know themselves*, and when we promise to humble them, we say *we will make them know themselves*, and most certain it is if the best, and worthiest and happiest of men and women, did throughly know themselves they could not be proud. For how can he be proud who knoweth, and is convinced, that he hath many things to cast him down; but no one thing that may justly lift him up, all things considered? Now that is every mans case.

Who laboureth not under natural defects, sinful defilements, and Divine rebukes? and all of these are just occasions of being cast down. Doth the wise man glory in his wisdom, alas how defective is it? how little do the best Philosophers know of the true reasons of any thing in nature? We know the use of things but litle of their causes, our knowledge both of God and of the creatures, is not so much by a thousand parts as is our ignorance. Job speaking of God saith, *Lo these are parts of his wayes but how little a portion is heard of him*. Job 26. 24. Our wisdom in comparison of the wisdom of God is but foolishness; yea compared with the wisdom of Angels, yea of fallen Angels, is but weakness. He spake as truly, as modestly, who said, *This only do I know, that I know nothing* (*Hoc tantum scio me nihil scire*) viz. In comparison of the many things which he was ignorant of, and yet he was one of the wisest men in the world that said it. If the strong man glory in his strength, how defective is that strength wherein he glorieth? and how much more doth he

partake

partake of weakness? How soon were *Sampson's* locks cut off, and when that was done, what became of his strength? How easily can a disease (such as it may be) take hold upon the pillars of his house (who thinks his body to be as it were an impregnable Castle) and pull it presently about his ears? as *Sampson* served the *Philistines*. How defective must they needs be otherwise, and in other respects, who have so much of defect in their greatest excellencies, and perfections? few men excel in many things, none in all, and if such be the imperfection of mens greatest perfections, how many defects and imperfections have all men to keep them humble?

Besides natural defects there are sinful defilements, which is yet a more humbling consideration, *Psf. 19. 12. Who can understand his errors?* viz. the vast number the haynous nature of them. Had we all kind of natural excellencies, viz. wisdom, strength, beauty, yet ought we to abhor our selves as in dust, and ashes; for our moral pollutions. Devils want not for natural excellencies, they have strength and wisdom far beyond any man in the world, but being abominably wicked (in spite of all that wherein they excell) we count them odious, and despicable creatures. *S. Paul* though an Apostle of extraordinary indowments, both acquired, natural and supernatural, yet cried out (as one that was vile in his own account) *Rom. 7. 24. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death.* He that shall set his guilt against his gifts, will find the former exceedingly to outweigh the latter, and to minister to him much more cause of humility, than the other can do of pride to have: a heart deceitful above measure, and desperately wicked, (as who hath not) and together with
that

that a life defiled with thousands of actual transgressions, how much greater a cause of self abasement is it, than to have a great deal of wealth, power and wisdom; can be of self exaltation? One would think, that *Naamans* leprosy should keep him humble, though he were a great commander, and is there not reason for us so to be upon every one of whom there is a worse leprosy: (though more invisible) than was that of *Naamans*; the leprosy of sin I mean.

Think but of sin under the notion of *folly*, as both scripture, and reason do represent it; and sinners as fools, and it will help to humble thee, for who is not vile in his own eyes, when he is conscious to himself, that he hath notoriously played the fool, as *Tamar* said to *Amnon*, *2 Sam.* 13. 13. *And thou shalt be as one of the fools in Israel*: and when he had committed that folly, and came to reflect upon it, how out of countenance was he? how mad with her, and surely more with himself, for the fault was not hers, but his. If sinners have not done foolishly, why do they repent when their eyes are opened? Or why is repentance called by the latines *Resipiscencia*, that is, a return to wisdom, and by the Greeks *μετάνοια*, as who should say an after wisdom? Awakened sinners have played the fools; themselves being judges, and having so done have great cause to be humbled, and as it were to lay their mouths in the dust, or cover their faces. He that can view his sins, and not be humbled at the sight thereof, can see his Saviour pierced and not mourn.

To bring down the pride of man besides natural defects, and moral defilements (which he that knoweth himself cannot be ignorant of) there are *Divine Rebukes* which most men have fallen under,

one time or other. Now the chastisements of God are intended for the *hiding of pride from man*, Job 33. 17, 19. As God said to *Moses* concerning *Miriam*, *If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven dayes?* Numb. 12. 14. So it is intended, that when God by his Judgments doth as it were spit in the faces of men, it should put them to shame, and shame is an humbling passion. So good Father had never beaten us with so many stripes, had never fetcht the bloud on us (as he hath sometimes done) if we had been good children; yea, if we had not bin very bad. Our sufferings may therefore humble us, because in them we may read our sins, as comming from his hand who doth not willingly, or without cause afflict the children of men, *but if the living man complain, it is for the punishment of his sin.* Hath God smitten us; yea, is he smiting, and shall we mean time be supercilious? shall we knit our brows in pride, whilst he bends his brows in anger? shall we nourish haughtiness under Gods crowns? *Say unto God how terrible art thou in thy works?* Psal. 66. 3. *God is terrible in his doing toward the children of men,* v. 5. it followeth v. 7. *Let not the Rebels exalt themselves.* Fear is an humbling affection, *Put them in fear,* saith the Psalmist, *that they may know themselves to be but men.* Now when the Lion roar-eth, *who will not fear?* Amos 3. 8. That is, when God displaieth his anger, ought not every one to tremble at it? Notable is that passage, Job 9. 13. *If God will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers do stoop under him.* So far are men from swelling with pride, when they take notice of Gods rebukes, that David saith, *When thou (that is God) dost correct man for iniquity, thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth,* Psal. 39. 11. He that shall often look his face in that glass which shall represent to him those three

things which I last mentioned, viz. his natural and spiritual defects (which are many and great in themselves, though not in comparison of other men) his moral defilements, and pollutions; that is, his innumerable sins: and lastly, those many rebukes wherewith God hath corrected him for sin: I say, he who in the mirror of serious contemplation shall frequently behold these three things, and whilst he layeth all his endowments and enjoyments in one scale, shall lay these in the other, cannot easily be lifted up, or think of himself more highly than he ought.

I have evinced that every man hath much to be humbled for, and under: If I can also prove that no man hath any thing to be proud of, or cause to be proud of any thing; when that is made good, I shall then have demonstrated that he must needs be humble that doth but thoroughly know himself, and that doth judg himself no better, though no worse neither than indeed he is.

There are but four sorts of things that any man in the world can take a pride in, viz. *What he is, what he hath, what he hath done*; And lastly, *What he hath suffered upon a good account*. As for the first of these, a man may know what he is (as that he is a child of God, &c.) and yet not be proud of it, *John 3. 14. We know that we have passed from death to life, &c.* *1 Joh. 5. 19. We know that we are of God, &c.* For why should a man be proud of what he is by the meer grace and favor of God? It was no pride in *St. Paul* to say, *By the grace of God I am what I am* (viz. a Saint, an Apostle, who was before a Persecutor) *1 Cor. 15. 10.* He that seeth that there is some good thing in him towards the Lord, but yet more evil than good, more flesh than spirit, more dross than silver, more sin than grace, hath no more cause to be proud of that

that little Grace and holiness which he hath, than a man cause to be proud of beauty, who hath only a white hand, or a handsom leg, all the rest of his body being ill favoured and deformed. If our sins preponderate our graces (I mean, if they be more and greater than they (as in this life they alwaies are) if there be in us a more general indisposedness, than there is promptness, and readiness to what is good; more earthly than heavenly mindedness; more self-seeking than self-denial; more bad thoughts than good; more unruly than well governed desires and affections (as who can say there is not) then have we more cause to be humble, than to be proud, yea to be humble and not proud. If that grace wherein we most excel (be it patience, or whatsoever else) be more deficient than it is perfect, more remote from perfection than it is near to it, then we who have but as it were *put on our harness*, have no cause to boast, which is for them only who have put it off. How imperfect are those graces in which we are most defective, if that grace be so defective in which we are most perfect.

Neither have we cause to be proud of what we have or possess, any more than of what we are, for if we might be proud of either, we might with more reason be proud of what we are than of what we have. (I mean of those good things which are within us (and are as it were part of our selves) than of those which are without us. A good descent, a good estate, a good report, a great and good office, doth constitute no man good, that is possessed of any, or all of them (for a bad man may happen to have them all) and seeing such things do not make, or denominate men good, they cannot redound so much to any mans praise as inward goodness doth, and therefore no man can pretend so much reason to be

proud of those things ; for it is less honourable to enjoy what is good (which the worst of men may do) than to be good our selves.

He that is proud of what he hath, let me put the Apostles question to him, *1 Cor. 4. 7. Who maketh thee to differ from another ? and what hast thou, that thou didst not receive ? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it ?* He that gave thee any good thing which thou enjoyest, could have with-held it from thee, & given it to him from whom it is with-held, *Prov. 22. 2. The rich and poor meet together, the Lord is the maker of them all.* If thou art a rich man, he that made thee a man, made thee rich ; and he that made thee rich, and thy neighbour poor, could (and yet can) have made thee poor and him rich.

I suppose thou hast received evil things from the hands of God, as well as good ; the evil thou hast received was deserved, so was not the good, why then should undeserved good make thee proud, and not deserved evil rather keep thee humble ?

Art thou proud of the good and worthy things which thou hast done (in one kind and in another?) no reason for that, because it was not thou that didst them (as it is not the young scribler that writes a fair copy, but his master that guideth his hand,) but God who performeth all things for thee, heare *S. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 10. I laboured more abundantly than they all (saith he) yet not I but the grace of God that was with me.* And *Phil. 2. 13. It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* If we instance but in temporal things, see *Dent. 8. 18. The Lord thy God, it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth.* If thy good deeds (which yet are not properly thine) be apt to lift thee up, think of thy evil doings and of thy wayes which have not been good.

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Thy good deeds, may be like the basons and ewers which are sometimes drawn in lotteries, but very few of them; but they evil ones like the small plate, or rather like the meer blanks there drawn, which are far the greater number. Some hours thou hast spent well, but how many more hast thou mispent? some warm and affectionate prayers thou hast poured out to God, but how many more that were cold and heartless? set one against the other and see how little cause thou hast to be proud? any more than a miser of his liberality, who makes a great feast, but once, or twice a year; and pincheth his family all the time besides. Think but of the good thou hast left undone (that is, which thou mightest have done and hast not) and then (if thou canst) be proud of the good which thou hast done; or shew cause why thou shouldst be so. Some good thou hast done with thy time, parts, estate, power, &c. But possibly thou couldst have done ten times more, if thy heart had serv'd thee: Is not then boasting excluded? if thou hast done but the tithes of that good which thou hadst power to do, whose evil deeds besides are like the stars of Heaven, which cannot be numbred.

Neither hast thou just cause to boast of thy sufferings, if thou hast been a great sufferer even for righteousness sake, considering first, what the Apostle speaketh, *Phil. 1. 29. To you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.* We should not take the honour of our sufferings to our selves, or be proud thereof, sith God hath given us the grace whereby we suffer. It is he that hath made us sufferers for his name sake. (I mean willing to be such) and not we our selves. We should never have been called to honor God by suffering (any more than glorious Saints and

Angels) had we not dishonoured him by sinning. What any of us suffer for Christ, is no ways comparable to what he hath suffered for us, nay it is far short of what we have suffered for sin, or upon the account of sin; for upon that accompt are all, or the most of our other sufferings, and afflictions which are generally more than those, that go by the name of persecutions. what we suffer for the truth is usually much less than what the truth hath suffered by us: *viz.* by our uneven, and uncircumspect walking; so that our sufferings may be lookt upon as meer restitution made to the truth, and that but in part. All which things considered, I see no cause any man hath to be proud of his sufferings, and if not of what he hath suffered, nor of what he hath done, nor of what he hath, nor of what he is (as I have proved particularly) then no man hath cause to be proud of any thing whatsoever.

Admit then a man should take himself to be much better than he is, every way better, yet from thence no just cause would be ministred to him, to sacrifice to his own net (which all proud men do) Sith the best man in the world is indebted to God, for all that good which he either is, or hath, or hath done, or hath suffered; and it is thought an unreasonable thing for a man to be proud of his debts especially when he hath not wherewithall to make satisfaction.

Having then proved that every man hath great cause to be humble, and no man hath any cause to be proud from those premises, I draw this conclusion, *viz.* That he who thinks soberly of himself, and not more highly than he ought to think, must needs be an humble person, and that the *formalis ratio*, or essence of humility doth consist in knowing, and owning our selves to be as mean,
vile,

vile, and unworthy as indeed we are; and that from that fountain do issue all those streams, which are commonly, and properly counted the expressions of Humility.

I may but assign the reasons why God may build a City for those that are humble, rather than for those that are proud, and so pass on to another Chapter. It may well be expected that God should do more for those whom he loves, than for those whom he hates. Now the text saith, *Every one that is proud in heart, is an abomination to the Lord*, Prov. 16. 5. and Prov. 8. 15. *Pride and arrogancy do I hate: Six things doth the Lord hate, yea, seven are an abomination to him*, and the first of them is a proud look. God hath put a strang enmity into men against the sin of pride, so far as it discovers it self in others, in so much that the real worth, of a proud person is seldom owned, and others do what they can to eclipse him, just as neighbouring Princes do to weaken any Kingdom or State that grows too great, and threatens to overtop them. Some bigger stars to us appear less because of their great height and distance from us, and those that are less than they (as the Moon for one) to us appear bigger because they are lower seated, and come nearer to us. The proud person is as the former, who keeping too great a distance from others, is less accounted of, and the humble person as the latter, who shineth more with the raies of other mens commendation, than a proud man that hath more brightness of his own.

Many kinds of sinners do love one another, as such, viz. Fellow-drunkards, fellow-gamesters, fellow-whoremasters; but proud persons are great haters of their own order: I mean one of another, all hate pride in others, but none hate it so much, as

they that have most in themselves. We have heard of *the family of love*; (a sect so called) but proud persons may go by the name of *the family of hatred*, God having signified his hatred to them by leaving them above all other sorts of men to hate one another. Proud men (so far as such) will not suffer God to dwell with them, and in them; and therefore may not presume that God will as much concern himself for them, and for their dwellings, as for those who invite God to dwell in them, (for so by their humility they do) and in whom God himself delights to dwell. Two texts will fully prove the several branches of this second reason, viz. Ps. 10. 3. *The wicked through the pride of his countenance will not seek after God: God is not in all his thoughts.* Therefore I say proud persons will not let God dwell with them. But as to others God saith, *I dwell with him that is of an humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble*, Isa. 57. 15. God will provide dwellings for them, with whom himself delights to dwell, whilst others it may be shall go without.

God knows how little thanks himself shall have for building a City, or any thing else he shall do, for proud persons who will certainly overlook his hand, and power, and goodness, and ascribe all to their own, Deut. 8. 12, 14, 17. *Beware least when thou art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein, then thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, and thou say in thine heart my power, and the might of mine hand hath given me this wealth.* When their hearts were lifted up, then were they in danger to overlook the power of God; and surely his goodness no less, for what the Jews said to Christ touching the Centurion, viz. *That he was worthy for whom he should do this*, so proud persons are apt to think that they themselves are worthy of all that is done

done for them, either by God, or men; and who will be so thankful for what he takes as a due, as for what he takes as a curtesy, and meer benevolence?

To do great things for proud men (as to build a City for them) were to increase their pride, and to make them greater in their own eyes, who are too great already, therefore the text saith, *Beware lest when thou hast built goodly houses and dwelt in them, thine heart be lifted up.* Deut. 8. When God hath made men humble, then (and not till then) he hath had his design in ruining them; and therefore then it may be hoped he will go about to restore them, Deut. 8. 15. *Who led thee through the great and terrible wilderness, that he might humble thee and do thee good at thy latter end, (but first humble thee.)*

What should proud men do with goodly Cities? set them on fire with contention (for of pride commeth contention) and make them less desirable than a wilderness? as Solomon, Prov. 21. 9. *It is better to dwell, in a corner of the house top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house.* Both from the promises and threatnings of God, may humble men collect, that they shall fare better than those that are proud. The threatening saith, that *God resisteth the proud*, and he whom God resisteth is but in an ill case, and unlike to prosper: God seems to delight in crossing, and carrying headlong the designs of proud persons, as of those that went about to build the tower of Babel, of Pharaoh, and of Nebuchadnezzar: and it is the temper of not a few men and women to love to cross and set themselves against those persons, whom they judg exceeding proud.

The word of promise is that *the meek shall inherit the earth*: and therefore they have most reason to expect

expect that God will build a City for them, and for their sakes. Why should proud men be more adorned? they make too great a shew already, and are like meat that is stuck with many scuers, fairer to the eye, but worse for spending, and most apt to be fly-blown.

Pride, and self confidence, or confidence in those things which men are proud of) usually go together. Therefore the Apostle saith, *Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches:* and Solomon warns men *not to lean to their own understanding* (viz. Such as are apt to be proud thereof) now God delights to frustrate the designs, and enterprises of those persons who trust in themselves, or in any other creature, and to shew them the weakness of an arm of flesh, *Jer. 17. 5. Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, for he shall be like the heath in the desert. and shall not see when good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited.*

Proud men are apt to affront God, and therefore it is not to be wondred at, that God should not do as much for them, as for those that are humble: *Give me not riches* (said Agur) *least I be full and deny thee, and say who is the Lord?* *Prov. 30. 4.* How can men affront God more, than in saying who is the Lord? and so said Pharaoh in the pride of his heart, *who is the Lord that I should obey him?* Proud men must be crossed, and frustrated, least they should think themselves to be more than men, *Ps. 9. 10. Put them in fear O Lord, that the nations may know themselves to be but men.*

Considering then how many wayes God is obliged (as it were) to resist those that are proud, them and their designs, and how he hath obliged himself by

promise to do great things for them that are humble, viz. To teach them, to dwell with them, revive and comfort them, &c. These things considered, if you would up with your City, down with your pride, proud looks, words, habits, gestures, manner of living, and above all proud hearts: such are the cause of all the rest. Consider those words, *Lam. 3. 29. He putteth his mouth in the dust; so he there may be hope,* and that in *James 4. 10. Humble your selves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up.* No misery but Hell (nor that neither): will humble that person, that is not humbled by the burning of such a City as London was, himself being greatly concerned in it. Till God have made us kiss his rod, and so far forth accept the punishment of our iniquity as to acknowledg that he was righteous in burning so great a part of our City, and had been so if he had burnt it all; and would be so if he should never suffer it to be built again, and till he have made us see, that *except the Lord build the house, and so the City, they labour in vain that build it, Psal. 127. 1.* That it is impossible for us by our own power and strength, to build us another City; unless he who is *the maker and builder of all things*, shall consent to and concur in it: I say till God have so far humbled us, though we may build through his permission, we shall not build with his blessing, and if we continue in the hateful sin of pride, he can give us a City in his wrath, and take it away again in his wrath.

As therefore our City goes up, let our pride go down. It is too much for such worthless creatures as we all are to think our selves to be any thing, but as God influenceth and inspireth us (as a Trumpet can give no sound, but as the trumpiter breaths into it) and therefore he said well, who said, that

no man is any thing more. (meaning that good is) than what God makes him daily and hourly. Paul saith himself, though I preach the Gospel I have nothing to glory of, 1 Cor. 9. 16. It is a very significant phrase both in our native tongue, that when we would say a man is proud, we say *he thinks himself to be some body*, as if every man were nothing, and those words were applicable to every proud man, *he that thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing, deceiveth himself*, Gal. 6. 3. I find the same phrase in the Greek Testament, for we read of *Theudas* boasting himself to be *some body* (λέγων εἶναι τίνα ἐαυτὸν) which methinks is a fuller expression than is used of *Simon Magus*, of whom it is said that he gave out, that himself was some great one, Acts 8. 9. εἶναι τίνα ἐαυτὸν μέγαν. For the former implieth, that for any man to think himself to be any thing, in and of himself is a point of pride, and such a kind of mistake, as if one should think a meere shadow to be a real body or substance, Ps. 144. 4. *Man is like vanity, his dayes are as a shadow that passeth away.*

When I observe how men do treat those that are notoriously proud, I fancy them to be like the picture we see in some Almanacks, viz. A man every where pierced with arrows from head to foot, because every body is ready to wound the reputation of a proud man, and to make his name to bleed: and be confident that the great God hath as much displeasure against him as men can have. I say therefore once again, as you love your selves, and as you love your City, be humble, be lowly minded, take heed of lifting up your selves after that God hath cast you down. Conquer pride, and you conquer a third part of the world, for S. John speaketh of *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride life*, as if they three were all *that is in the world*,

world, 1. John 2. 16. Conquer pride, and take the comfort of that excellent, and incouraging passage, Job 22. 29. *When men are cast down, then thou shalt be there, as lifting up: and he shall save the humble person.*

DISCOURSE XLV.

That to seek the Kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, in the first place (for Londoners generally so to do) were one of the best ways to obtain a new City.

HE that reads the title of this Chapter will presently reflect upon, *Mat. 6. 33. But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added to you,* and in reflecting upon those words, will see a plain proof of that proposition, whereof the title doth consist, taking it for granted that though meat, and drink, and cloathing, be the only things expressed in that place, of which it is said they shall be added to them, that seek the kingdom God, yet all other needful things for this life, are there implied, and intended, as by a parity of reason (which is a good sort of argument) may be concluded. The foregoing words are, *your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things,* v. 32. From whence we may infer, that all such things as our heavenly Father knows we have need, or necessity of in this life, shall be added to them who seek his Kingdom in the first place.

Our ultimate, or last end, (so far as we foresee it our selves) is always first thought of; it is first in intention, though it be last in execution. We think of the end of our journey (or that which for the

the present; we intend shall be so) before we set out, or enterprize the beginning thereof. In this sense ought the Kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof to be sought by us in the first place, that is, to be made our highest end, our ultimate design, to which all other designs are to be referred, and subordinated, as for example: If your ends and aims be regular they are in this order: you would have a City that you might buy and sell, and get gain (that is the lowest round of the ladder) you would do that, that you and yours might live, and comfortably subsist, you would have a comfortable subsistence that you might attend upon God, without distraction, and serve him with cheerfulness in the midst of all the good things which he shall give you to enjoy: and you would serve God on earth, *in righteousness and holiness before him*, that you might for ever enjoy him in Heaven, and arrive to that glorious Kingdom, which he hath provided for them that love and serve him. This is your highest end, and thus doing, thus aiming, you seek the Kingdom of God in the first place. For though that end be the last thing in order of time, and of attainment yet it is first in order of nature, for all causes are before their effects, now ends are causes, (as the final cause is often spoken of) and the highest ends of any action is the first cause thereof, that is, within our selves, and consequently it is the first thing that is in our thoughts, it is the first mover, the great wheel or spring that sets all the rest a going.

Now I say, in this manner to seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it, if that were generally done by those that are concerned in London, would make that desolate City to spring up *as tender grass springing out of the earth, by clear shining*

shining after rain, and cause the blessing of God to come down upon it, like rain upon the mown grass.

Religion (all things considered) was never a hinderance to any great and worthy undertaking, but always a help and furtherance. The prophesying of *Haggai*, and *Zechariah* (as I shewed before) made the building of the Temple to prosper. A religious *standing still* (to allude to those words of *Moses*, *Exod. 14. 13. stand still and see the salvation of the Lord*) Will make the City go forward, when a prophane activity would but hinder it. Suppose the City should require seven years time to build it again, some may think that doing nothing to it upon the Sabbath day, is a great hinderance, and would be the loss, of no less than one whole year in seven, but if we consider the curse which it prevents, and the blessing which it procureth, it will be found to be no loss at all, and that the City in effect, and in due construction, goes up as fast or faster on the Sabbath-day, than on any day in the week. Whilst we are seeking Gods Kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, God (though in an invisible way) is adding to us, *Jer. 17. 24. It shall come to pass if ye hallow the Sabbath-day, to do no work therein, then shall there enter into the gate of this City, Kings and Princes, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and this City shall remain for ever.* God who had set apart a tenth for his own use, gave the Jews assurance they should be nothing the poorer, but much the richer for paying of it, *Mal. 3. 10. Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open the windows of Heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.* The *Israelites*

lives when they were before *Jericho*, besieging it, lost no time by carrying about the Ark, and sounding the Trumpets as was appointed them, for it is said, *It shall come to pass when ye hear the sound of the Trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the City shall fall down flat*, Joshua 6. 5. The Prophet was angry with the King of Israel for smiting the ground but thrice, 2 Kings 13. 19. *Thou shouldst have smitten five or six times (said he) then hadst thou smitten Syria, till thou hadst consumed it: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice.* Alluding to that story, I would say, if we smote the ground oftner, if we were more clothed with the Sun, and did more frequently trample the earth under our feet, my meaning is, if we were more abundant in the duties, and exercises of Religion, than most of us are, it would be no hindrance to our worldly concerns, and particularly to that of building our City, but rather a help and furtherance.

The practise of Religion, both in refraining what is evil, and doing what is good, is never more necessary than when some great undertaking is in hand, *Deut. 23. 9. When the host goes forth against thine enemies then keep thee from every wicked thing; and are we not as much concerned so to do, when we have a City to build, as at this day.* Our way to have another City even upon earth, is to imitate those worthies we read of, *Heb. 11. 16. But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a City.*

When *Saul* went to seek his Fathers Asses, he unexpectedly found a Kingdom, but it is to be feared that many will lose a Kingdom, whilst they seek for Asses, I mean for poor trifles, an earthly house, or City, which are no better, in comparison of a heavenly

heavenly Kingdom. It is incident to us to invert Gods method, we would seek other things either in the first place, or altogether, and have the Kingdom of God added to us, we would seek earth, and find Heaven, but God will not alter his method, and men by going about to do it, do indanger the loss, of Heaven, and earth both, both of their interest, (if I may so call the world which they live upon for the present) and of their *principal* which they expect hereafter.

How unreasonable a presumption is it that God should mind our concerns, and we not mind his? that God should regard our houses, if we will not regard his Kingdom, the beginning, increase, and perfecting thereof, both in our selves and others? By the Kingdom of God, I mean the Kingdom of Grace which is glory began, and the kingdom of glory which is grace perfected. Which being but gradually distinct, (as the same person in infancy and at full age) I may speak of as one kingdom, (*viz.* specifically so, I speak of that kingdom as Gods concern, because his glory is as truly concerned in it, as our good, his honor as our happiness, And thence it is that they who refuse to be subjects of that kingdom, are so severely threatned. *Those mine enemies who would not that I should raign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me.* It is said of the Hebrew Midwives, that *because they feared God he made them houses*, Exod. 1. 21. But will God build houses and Cities for them that fear him not, yea for his enemies whom he hath threatned to slay? at leastwise can they promise themselves he will do so? or hath he any where promised so to do? nay in Prov. 14. 11. it is said *The house of the wicked shall be overthrowen, but the tabernacle of the righteous shall flourish.*

The children of rich and noble persons, need take no care for houses to dwell in, let them but study to please their parents, and they shall want neither houses nor any thing else ; let them be good, and their parents will be as good to them, as they can wish : and shall not his children whose name is *El-shaddai*, God al sufficient expect as much from their heavenly Father ?

But ere I proceed in speaking to men, let me speak a few words to God, on behalf of my self and others, Lord give me more faith in this promise, this double promise, (for so I understand it) that they who seek thy Kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, in the first place shall have it, and all other needful things with it, for so the phrase of adding, or superadding seemeth to imply. And Lord give the same faith to others, for hundreds need it at this day, who till of late never knew they needed it, or went about to make experiment of it. O Lord ! how fearful are most men to swim, when they are above their depth ? when they can feel no ground, under them, that meer sense and reason can stand upon. We would fain be always in those shallows where lambs may wade, but never cast into those depths, where *Elephants* must swim, but thou Lord dost sometimes try us with the latter of those ; give us but faith enough in that conditional promise, that they who seek thy kingdom, &c. shall have all things added, and together with that faith, give us but the condition of that promise, viz. hearts to seek thy kingdom, as we ought to seek it, and having those two, we shall not doubt but to arrive at whatsoever is, and shall be necessary, both for the life that is, and that which is to come !

To me it seemeth a little strang, that the great God having made the promise of a Kingdom to
such

such as seek it in the first place (and by patient continuance in well doing, for that I must adde out of Rom. 2.) Should adde any promise of things so much inferiour to it, as are the good things of this life, the giving whereof might so easily have been inferred, and concluded from the promise of that kingdom, with a *quanto magis*, as the Apostle in another case; *If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life*, Rom. 5. 10. He that hath assured us of an heavenly kingdom, if we seek it, and the righteousness thereof; will certainly in that case, not deny us an earthly City, or any thing of that nature, seeing it to be good for us. But as young Virgins can hardly perswade themselves their suitors do love them, unless they ever and anon, present them with one thing or another, that might be spared, over and above the solid offers they make of settling great and liberal joyn-tures upon them: So the great God by way of condescension to our (weakness, knowing us to be much what of the same temper,) hath promised us the little things of this life, (for so they are comparatively) over and above his kingdom, if we will but seek his kingdom, and the righteousness thereof in the first place.

It is too apparent that the generality of men have a jealousy they shall lose other things, whilst they seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof: therefore when men have any great and important work in hand, the generality do borrow more time from religion, for and towards it than from any thing else (I mean proportionably to the time they had wont to spend in it) *ex. gr.* when they have building work in hand, possibly they will pray but half so long, or so often, read but

half so much, meditate of good things but a fourth part so much, as at other times ; so that the great tax towards such occasions lieth generally upon Religion, as if that could best admit of a *defalcation* of any thing else, for few men content themselves with but half so much sleep, half so much recreation as they had wont to use at other times. But say I, never pinch thy general calling to promote thy particular calling, but rather hope to promote thy particular calling, by giving full scope to thy general, for in this as in other senses, *the lesse is blessed of the greater.*

Borrow time for thy building from thy rest or recreation, not from thy devotion : Prayer and other duties are a help to building, but so is not superfluous sleep, or needless recreation. Don't build first and pray afterwards, but pray first from day to day, and fall to building afterwards, neither ask the first blessing upon thy temporal building, be it an house or City, but upon the building up of thy Soul in thy most holy faith : First that thy Soul may prosper, and be a *habitation for God through his spirit*, and after that thy house. It was a bitter Irony of him that said, *O cives, cives, querenda pecunia primum est, virtus post nummos !* that is, that the Citizens of his time sought money in the first place, and virtue afterwards.

The kingdom of God, at this day, I mean the state of religion in the world, and in the hearts of most professors, is much what in such a condition as is the City of London, viz. low and ruinous, and very imperfect to what it shall be when *the seventh Angel shall sound, saying the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ*, Rev. 11. 15. Let us labour in our several capacities to advance the kingdom of God, and if ano-
ther

whether *London* be needful for us, (as who thinks it is not?) he will certainly advance our City.

DISCOURSE XLVI.

Upon the observation of that full employment, which Carpenters, Bricklayers, and all other Artificers, who relate to building, have at this day, compared with the condition of scholars, under various revolutions.

IT is an ill wind (saith our proverb) that bloweth no body good. Artificers who relate to building have, at this day, more work than they can turn their hands to. Surely *Aristotle* saith true, viz. that *Privation* is a principle, and that the corruption or destruction of one thing is the generation or production of another. The burning of *London* hath made way for all or most, poor trades to live; but not for Scholars, they are the *Camelions*, that must live upon the air (if they know how) unless they can be *Camelions* in another sense, viz. assume the colour of all things which they come near. Water-men tell us they can earn twenty shillings a week with ease, (if they be good husbands,) that many excellent scholars cannot do, nor half so much, though they ply their learned oars ever so hard. They are the only men, who under several revolutions have bin forced to stand idle in the market place, for that none would hire them or set them at work.

If poverty and necessity (that *ingenstelum*) may be compared to Lions (as by the fright some have taken at the very roaring of them, at a great distance, one would think they might) they and their families, have time after time been consigned to

the Lions Den, and *erruditos* instead of *Christianos ad Leones*, that is, away with Scholars, as heretofore with Christians to the Lions, hath bin the great outcry under several changes. They have bin the only men, who did they live ever so soberly, peacably, piously, and might they have lived ever so usefully, and for publick good, if not otherwise qualified, have not been thought worthy to live. They might not eat, because they might not work, nor might have leave to work least they should eat. They might not tread out the corn, because if they did do so, their mouths must be unmuzzled, and they have leave to feed. It was no matter what their talents were (though the talents of a *Holdsworth a Featly, &c.*) Talents of lead will give some men as good content (if not better) than talents of gold. The world hath thought that Scholars pains might best be spared, which is such a paradox, as if they should tell us that Souls are less worth than any thing else, which Christ tells us are more worth than the whole world, for saith he *what shall it profit a man, &c.*

It is incredible what shifts Scholars, under several changes, have been put to: one while because they would not take the *Ingagement*, forsooth, out they must. Let it be no more a proverb, that *Quavis terra alit artes*, that is, every country cherishes learning, for there is no truth in it. *Musculus* was an excellent Scholar, and yet forced to dig in the town ditch, as some others of his profession have bin in Cole-pits, and Tin-mines. Alas, how many Schollars have bin tempted to wish themselves poor mechanicks, or handicrafts-men; and that when their parents sent them to the University, they had bound them to some sorry trade, by which they might have been able to have got their bread, and to have lived like themselves.

Surely

Surely Scholars would as fain live as other men, they love themselves and their Families as well as others do, the light of learning in them, hath not extinguished the light of nature. If they have not lived as well, and as plentifully as other men, it was because they did not dare to do so, or as *Nehemiah* said, *So did not I, because of the fear of God,* Neh. 5. 15.

Three Apprentiships at the University, with three degrees on a mans back, well deserved, have not turned to so good an account to many, as one Apprentiship to a mean Shop-keeper hath done to many others. Tradesmen can live upon their Callings, but Schollars have bin put to live upon their friends (if they had any). Many excellent Schollars put out of the way of Learning, know not how to earn a penny (as they say) if their lives did depend upon it. In times of many Revolutions, Schollars are of all men most miserable, unless they be men of such volatile wits, that they can turn every way, unless they be perfect weather-cocks, or unless together with their wisdom they have an Inheritance. It is expected that Schollars should be *Commonwealthsmen, Protectorians, Presbyterians, Independants*, and every thing else that is uppermost, and the way of their times, as if in that sense it were true, *That every thing is good in its season.*

A Schollar must be every thing successively, or he must be nothing, or rather no-body. He must change his shape as oft as doth the Silk-worm, if he would be clad as he is, that is, clothed with soft, and costly raiment. He must be like a door turning upon the hinges, that is, this way, and the other way, if he will come to any thing, though that be the comparison that *Solomon* useth for a sluggard. He must either be *materia prima*, or he must be reduced to it;

that is, either susceptible of all forms, or stript of all enjoyments. I write not this to blame the policy or reason of state that hath thought fit it should be so, (though he that will, may censure those times whence I have taken the instances of this kind of severity) but to condole the misery of Schollars in regard it hath bin so.

Many do distrust that saying which hath bin applied to learning, viz. that *Emollit mores nec finit effe feros*: that is, that it softens the manners of men, and suffers them not to be fierce. For who have bin more profound to destroy one another than Schollars? If *homo homini lupus* be a Proverb, it hath bin no where more verified than amongst Schollars, who have bin *lupi in fabula* one to another, and devoured one anothers maintenance, and livelyhoods, by the imposition of *Ingagements*, and such like Artifices, instructing after-times in methods of policy, which the depraved nature of man is but too prone to follow. Hath it signified any thing to a livelyhood in some times and places, for a Schollar to be excellent at his Profession, and very vertuous besides? if weighed in other scales, he hath bin found too light, his little kingdom, I mean his work and wages have both bin taken from him. He that would not provide for his Family by going beyond the line of his Principles (if dissenting) hath bin so dealt with, as if he had bin *worse than an infidel*, and had *denyed the Faith*. For whilst *Jews* and other Infidels have bin permitted to live, and provide for their Families, so might not he. *He is a Cavalier, an Episcopal man, or, &c. Sequester him, &c.* A waggish Inn-keeper was once (in my hearing) commending an *officious lye*, (it may be himself had sometime tryed the sweetness of it) but what if all Schollars be not of his mind? yea, what if none that are conscientious be?

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What if some could not, or darst not tell such
lye if it might save their lives? must they turn out
upon it? as if lying were a gift essential to a Mini-
ster whose work it is to Preach the truth, at least-
wise as if the Apostle *Paul* his becoming all things
all, were his professing himself to be of every
other mans mind, and his saying, and doing what-
soever others would have him; the contrary where-
of doth plainly appear from *Gal. 3. 11.* where spea-
king of *Peter*, he saith, *That he withstood him to the ve-*
ry face, because he was to be blamed, &c.

If a man had written as many books as ever *Gro-
ius* did, and to as good purpose, to have bin able to
have underwritten his name to a small Script (an
Engagement or such like thing) might when time
was, have done him more service; yea, the other it
may be, none at all. An excellent Artificer, *Lim-
ner*, or such like, of what Nation or Religion soever
whether *Few*, or *Turk*, shall be set at work by eve-
ry body; rather than a bungler, of whatsoever Judg-
ment, but it useth not to be so amongst Schollars.
Though *Shibboleth* and *Sibboleth* differ but by one let-
ter, and that near in sound, yet the right pronoun-
cing and due distinguishing of them, useth, as to
Schollars, to signify more than their knowledg of
all the letters in the Alphabet besides, and of all the
words made out of those Letters, and things that are
signified by those words.

Why doth our Mother, the University, put such respect upon her sons, that are Fellows of Colledges? why will she have them capt as far as they can be discerned? are they there lifted up that they may take the greater fall? (*Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviores ruant.*) Are they there so honoured, that they may be elsewhere more despicable? there they sit with the sons of Nobles, but how soon do many

many of them come to fit as it were with the dogs of their flock? if there they be *cloathed in Scarlet*, they quickly come as it were to *embrace dung-hills*.

Some Schollars that have had excellent Libraries, could neither sell their books without great loss, nor keep them without great vanity. For what should they do with books that can make no use of their learning? any more than a Musician with a great many Lutes and Viols, who is not permitted to play one Lesson upon any of them? Some have even idolized their Books, their Books have bin as it were their God, and yet those very persons have bin forced to an unhappy Transubstantiation, viz. to turn that their God into bread.

If Schollars continue Batchelors, (as few of them do in that sense) *make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake* (alluding to *Mat. 19. 12.*) possibly they may be received into some good Family, and be there entertained, so as the Prophet was by the *Shunamite*, 2 Kings 4. 10. *Let us make a little Chamber in the Wall, and let us set for him there, a bed, and a Table, and a Stool, and a Candlestick, and it shall be when he commeth to us, he shall turn in thither.* I can but think what hard shift the Sons of the Prophets made in *Elisha's* time, *The place where we dwell, said they to Elisha, is too strait for us, Let us go unto Jordan, and take thence every man a beam, and let us make us a place where we may dwell.* Surely it was but a sorry house that those young Prophets could build, and with no more materials than every man his beam; it seemeth to have bin no other than a Booth, or Bower, or Tent, built by the water side; yet that was as good a dwelling as the Sons or Pupils of the Prophets did at that time expect.

But if Schollars happen to marry (as most of them do) and after they have so done, come to have their

Olive

live plants sit round about their Table, and then an
 out of temptation come (an Ingagement is ten-
 ered, or some such thing) they must take it, or turn
 at; how miserable then is the case of these poor
 nants at will? against whom an Order of Ejectment
 presently commenced, and forthwith they and
 theirs exposed to beggary, or what is next to that.

Schollars are generally more *Prolifical* than other
 men. *Aarons* Rod blossomed when none of the
 rest did, *Numb.* 17. 5. I know one at this day that
 hath no less than ten sons all alive, besides a sample
 of the other sex: by the fulness of his Quiver, he
 may seem to be an Archer, but he is no other than
 a mark, though the greatness both of his charge, and
 of his worth (in the main) considered, it were hear-
 tily to be wished, that all Arrows shot towards
 him, might be like those which *Jonathan* shot to-
 wards *David*, all of which either went beyond, or
 fell short of him: Schollars, though the Fathers of
 many sweet children, do often lye at their mercy
 who were never Fathers themselves, and therefore
 know not what the heart, or care of a Father doth
 mean!

When ever it is so that the condition of Schollars
 is so deplorable, I know no remedy in the case, but
 Prayers and tears, Faith and patience in the use of
 humble perswasions, and petitionings; and if they
 will not prevail, each of them must sit down and say
 as did the Prophet *Jerem.* 10. 19. *Wo is me for my
 hurt, my wound is grievous. Truly this is a grief, and I
 must bear it.* Surely when God shall do good in his
 good pleasure to *Sion*, and build the Walls of *Jeru-
 salem* then all such workmen as need not to be asha-
 med, shall be employed and encouraged: Mean
 time let *Patience* have her perfect work, that ye may be
 perfect and entire, wanting nothing (even whilst you
 seem

seem to want every thing), *James* 1. 4.

May it not consist with patience for Scholars to give their grief some modest vent, to prevent the breaking of their hearts, and that *loosers take leave to speak*, which our proverb saith should be given them: then we will proceed a little. Scholars must not be pitied because having wit, and learning, it is supposed they can shift, (though indeed none are more shiftless for the world than they) none more like to sheep than they, of which it is reported, that if they have once lost their ways, they can never find it again. Scholars under hatches, must keep a perpetual fast, or at leastwise *disfigure their faces*, as if they did do so, or else it will be taken for granted, that because they smile upon the world, the world doth not frown upon them. Scholars must generally live either in the torrid zone of a polemical zeal, I mean a zeal for polemical, and disputable matters (which the light and temper, and ingenuity of some men, will not permit them to do) or else they must live in the frigid zone of a cold, and almost starving charity.

If Scholars be not honest, and conscientious, it is not fit they should be Ministers, and if they be conscientious, they run a great adventure? For was it not one while contriving (and who can secure after ages from the like snares) that Scholars shall be put to abjure that family, and government, to which the body of the nation had sworn allegiance; as if they could do all things by an omnipotency of distinctions, or as if they were never to be trusted, till they had taken *Achitophels* counsel viz. to be with their Fathers Concubines, in the face of the Sun, I mean to do some horrid, and odious thing.

It is one of the unhappinesses of Scholars, that their

their pains of all mens, are most undervalued, so that if it were left to peoples liberty, always and in all cases, to reward them as little as they please, if there were no dues of theirs demandable by law, really I think the major part of them would be the poorest of all people, that do not beg about the streets. It was a great truth though ill-favouredly applied by him that said, *He could have the pains of Scholars good-cheap.* If ever the maintenance of Ministers, should become arbitrary (which the world hath long been struggling for) but for the pleasure of knowledg, and the hopes of saving Souls, were I to begin the world, I had rather be a Cobler, than a Scholar, and one I have heard of, that was forced together with his preaching, to apply himself to the work of a Cobler, (to eake out his maintenance) as if the Souls of men, and the soles of shoes, had both belonged to the same function.

Let Scholars live single if they can, for if they have not the gift of *continency*, all their other gifts in point of livelihood, may amount to little. Compositors they say may earn their twenty shillings a week, whereas composers of books (unless it be here and there one) may have their labour for their pains.

Who are so much the objects of wonder, and of envy, as Scholars if they do arrive but to a mediocrity of estate? as namely to have two or three hundred pounds a year of their own, yea but a living of some such value, which is theirs but for life, how much notice is taken of it? whereas if a tradesman arrive to an estate of eight or ten thousand pounds, it makes no great noise, or if a country Gentleman be born to a thousand, or fifteen hundred pounds a year, (be he one whose wit, and worth, is as little as his wealth is great) it is not so much observed, as if a Minister, though of excellent gifts, and graces,

ces, have but a fifth part so much. Such are commonly counted covetous because rich, unless they prevent that infamy by being more liberal than they can well afford, I had almost said *prodigal*. I was about to say in some heat, pull down Universities, breed up Scholars in hospitals, they are reserved for alms. Some who draw at that lottery, may have *Bassons and Envers*, but the most of them have but blanks. If Scholars will marry, let them marry Chambermaids, if they must to service again, they can better do it than they who never knew what it meant.

It is the Scholars path which usually is spread with most snares, they must be spoken to in parables, *that seeing, they may not see, nor understand, lest they should be healed* (if I may so allude) smooth *Jacob* (or what is said to be as smooth, and plain as he) must apply himself to Scholars, with having skins about his neck, and hands, that being taken for rough *Esaie* he may get the blessing from them. If the kernel they are to swallow be soft and easy (or said so to be) yet the shell is made so hard, that it shall even break their teeth, ere they can come at it. Take one instance for all, *viz.* in the forementioned *Ingagement* we know it was so worded, that many good men left their places, were they livings, or fellowships, or headships, rather than they would meddle with it, and yet whosoever he was that commented upon it, represented the sense and meaning thereof, as so just and fair, and harmless, that if it had sounded no worse in the text, than it was sensed in the comment (and why mens words should not be as plain as their meaning I know not, or why things to be subscribed should be so phrased as to need a comment, and that comment not to be allowed neither, I know not,) it is like that many more had taken it. It is vain for Scholars

to

be conjurers, (as they say) if they want money, and if they have money enough, they need be no conjurers (that is no very good Scholars) *Simon* *magus* *do without Magnus.*

The world is no where more unequally dealt out amongst Scholars, Captains and Colonels, and some gown-men, almost as illiterate as they, have in dayes of yore bin admitted to the highest degree that Universities can confer; as if learning were no ways essential to those degrees, or as if there were no affront to salute a man *Salve Doctor sine doctrinâ*: whereas on the other hand, the time hath bin when persons of as great learning, parts, and pregnancy as any of their standing, have stuck in the birth of their first, and meanest degree. Those words of *Solomon* are no where more verified, than amongst Scholars. *Eccles. 9. 11. The race is not to the swift, nor the battel to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance hapneth to them all.* As if the word *Clergy*, did belong to men of that name, because of their preferments falling to them as it were by meer lot, or chance, without perceding election of fit persons, amongst whom it should fall, and could not fall amiss; as in the *Apostles* case, *Acts 1. 23. Masters of learning often go a foot, whilst those that are not worthy to be their servants, or to carry their books after them (for matter of learning) ride on horse-back, what he said of Heaven, I may say of earth. Surgunt indocti & terram rapiunt, dum alii cum doctrinâ in abyssum paupertatis detruduntur.* Nay more than so, learned men under hatches, are scarce owned to be learned. They censure them at pleasure, for poor Scholars, who make and keep them poor men. Ingenious *Wild* gives us a second part

to the same tune with thy *Ab Poor Schollar*, *whither wilt thou go?* Were Schollars bred up in Universities to learn the illiberal Sciences of *Cutting Tobacco*, *selling Tallow Candles*, *Carding*, and *Spinning*, they and theirs for bread (whilst others Card and Dice for their pleasure). Are these the Arts in which they have commenced Batchelors and Masters? or were they trained up to live by breaking Laws? or not to know which way to get food and raiment for them and theirs without doing it? for no *Pater-noster*, no *Penny* is as true a rule, as no *Penny*, no *Pater-noster*.

In the dayes of his Majesties exile, and about twelve years since (as near as I can guess it) there was a Proclamation set forth by those that were then in power, that no *Cavalier* (as they then called them) should teach any School, &c. I confess that Proclamation did vanish like an *ignis fatuus*, and came to little or nothing (for *Middlesex*, I am sure, was full of such Schools at, and after that time): but suppose it had bin insisted upon, how many Schollars must have bin starved, that had no other way to live? or must have broke the Law (if that could have bin called a Law) to have kept themselves and their Families from starving? If Laws be stone walls, hunger will break through them, as our Proverb is, *Hunger will break through Stone walls*. If those Walls be built as high as the Tower of *Babel* was intended, hunger will scale them, as the Poet tells us, *Graculus esuriens in cælum si jufferis ibit*. The hungry Greeks would climb Heaven for bread, before they would go without it. If those be stolen waters which men come by against Law, how often have Schollars bin faine to bear up themselves with those words of *Solomon*, Prov. 6. 30. *Men do not despise a Thief if he steal to satisfy his Soul when he is hungry*.

There

There is one shift more that some good Schollars have bin put to, and that is to beg their bread, not that they would rather have stolen employment (if that be theft) had not the Laws of that time bin too hard for them, than have so done, but being too strictly observed to get any sufficient employment for the purpose of a livelyhood, they have rather beg'd than starv'd. I my self have bin sought to for some relief, in as good Latine as I would wish to hear, or as any man need to speak, and found the party in other discourse, Learned and fluent to admiration, *O tempora, O mores, Tell it not in Gath.* He that can speak Latine but so as not to break *Priscians* head, makes my bowels yearn towards him, if he come a begging; but if I meet with a *Terence*, or *Cicero*, or *Erasmus*, that is forced to turn *Friar Mendicant*, it almost breaks my heart, and the money turns in my purse till I have relieved him.

I can but think how much it addeth to the misery of Schollars brought to want, to see how some rich carmugians, who are as defective in wit and ingenuity, as Schollars can be in money, do seem to scorn at them, and to laugh in their sleeves, and to scoff themselves, as if they had all the wit, because they have all the mony, or if they are sensible of their weakness, how it pleaseth them to think that they have the staff in their hands, and will make Schollars smart under the want of money, as much as themselves have done under the want of wit and Learning. *Nil habet in sese paupertas durius istis quam mod ridiculos homines facit.*

Methinks it is a sore disease that I have seen under the Sun, for Schollars to be made as it were the off-scouring of all things, and some of them such too, as they of *whom* the Apostle saith *the World was not worthy.* Oh that I knew an effectual Antidote a-

gainst that Pest, that cruel Plague which first and last, hath slain so many hundreds, if not thousands of Learned and useful men. My mind gives me I could say something which would signify very much (though not all I would have it) towards the prevention of it. It grieves me that any honest Scholars (truly so called) should at any time want the favor and countenance of Rulers, or that Rulers should want their service.

One while I think if *Covetousness* had never bin in the World, if it had not bin for certain *Ababs* who thirsted after *Naboths* Vineyard, it had never fared so ill with Schollars; whilst some have contrived to add house to house, and land to land (to heap *Pelion* upon *Ossa*) as if they would dwell alone in the earth: others as worthy as themselves, by vertue of those contrivances, have bin brought to great exigencies; for if some will have all, others must have nothing.

Otherwhile I think a great deal of *Pride* and *Self-conceit* hath bin the cause of this, some having thought so well of themselves, as if nothing could be too much, or too good for them; and so meanly of others, as if no condition were too bad for them, or as if they could never be filled with poverty and contempt enough, though God knows that the persons whom they have so contemned, and blasted with some ugly name as might be, *Disaffected*, *Malignant*, &c. have some of them bin no wayes inferior to them, if not much their betters upon a true accompt.

Sometimes I ascribe it to the *Disingenuity* of those men who have trampled others under their feet, and devoured them, as the greater Fishes do the less. I have thought they could not but know that some of those whom they have ill intreated, and pluckt the bread

read out of their mouths, were more righteous than they; yea, more able, learned, painful, useful than themselves were, or could ever expect to be; I say that they who have heaped to themselves superfluities, by multiplying those places, which singly enjoyed, did but supply the necessities of better men than themselves; I say, I have sometimes thought they knew all this, and yet had the Conscience (as they say) or rather the disingenuity to persist in it, as if all were lawfully their fish that came to their net (though drained out of other mens ponds) and all theirs *de jure*, or of right, that were *de facto*, or by actual possession, though they started mean time whose right it was. Places of greater preferment, seemed ill to become other men, whilst the famous Bishop *Usher* (that unparallel'd Oracle of Learning) stript of his other enjoyments, was but only Minister of *Lincolns-Inne*? If then notorious *Pride* and *Covetousness* and disingenuity, be not reformed by mens selves, or restrained by others, the undoing of Schollars, that are worthy and peaceable men, is a mischief that will not return upon the World, nor will the loud cry of so horrible and unchristian an oppression as that hath bin, ever pierce the Heavens, and pull down the Judgments of God as formerly it hath done. There is not a Schollar (truly so called) that is, who hath true Learning, and knows how to use it) but might do good service in Church or State, or both, if due care be but taken that his Talents be not misemployed, and himself be incapacitated to do disservice (though his Principles may not in all things be commensurate with the Publick standard.)

That a Church or State may be sufficiently secured, that service, and no dis-service, shall be done

them, by those that somewhat differ from them in Judgment, and practice, is evident enough, by that great trust, which hath time after time, bin reposed in men of skill in Military, and Naval Affairs, who have bin fully understood to have had differing sentiments as to some points of Religion, and yet have bin intrusted with those Offices and Places of Command, which have, and do capacitate them to do an hundred fold more mischief, undiscerned, and not to be prevented (if they were disposed to it) than Ministers and School-Masters in their Sphears can do.

Let as high assurances of peaceableness under the Government be given by Ministers, as are required of Officers who have the greatest Commands either at Sea or Land, and what is lookt upon as Security enough for a greater trust, may in reason be thought not insufficient for a less.

When the work of Schollars is publick, and themselves set as lights upon a Hill, their miscarriages cannot be hid, and there will be many Witnesses and Judges of what they say, and do amiss. If they shine well there, they need not to be undone, and if they burn, but shine not, it is easy to put them out, and to prevent their undoing others. It is hard for a Candle to shine under a Bushel, and not burn the bushel under which it shineth; but there is no danger of a Candle that shineth in an open place. If Schollars will abuse that publick Liberty whereby they are enabled to live, and to do good to others, let their penalty be great: He deserves no Pulpit that cannot use it peaceably, and without giving just offence. But on the other hand, let them Preach the Gospel, and live upon the Gospel, whose work it is (and whose character, for that work

work is said to be indelible) if they will but manage it as a Gospel of peace, and as the *Gospel of mens Salvation*.

Let not former Offences be remembered against Schollars, more than against other men, especially those of which themselves were never personally guilty. If their Fathers (I mean persons more aged and eminent than themselves) are thought to *have eaten sour Grapes, let not their teeth be set on edge*, their hands made stronger, or their yoke made heavier, because of that, for that were to perpetuate wrong to the end of the world, and to make it boil higher and higher under every Change.

It were no difficult matter to lay competent obligations upon all men of Learning and worth, (especially such whose expectations are not high, and who would be thankful for that which were really but a competency) which being done, it would become their Interest to save that vessel in which themselves were Imbarqued, and to endeavor the Peace of them in *whose Peace they themselves should have Peace*, as it is *Jer. 29*.

To secure themselves against Learned men (or some of them) as real or supposed enemies, hath bin the trite Policy of every age, but to secure them to themselves as cordial friends, and to oblige them to be such, were I think, a Policy beyond that; for then might they not only avoid the hurt, but receive all the good that all the Learned men of their time could do them.

All this have I discoursed in a very earnest, but innocent passion, for the good of Schollars, as many of them as are also good, and peaceable men, and in true compassion towards the interchangeable and alternate miseries which I have seen upon

Schollars of several perswasions, who are, and alwayes were dear to my self, as good Schollars and good men.

Let Artificers not take it unkindly, that I took occasion by their being in so much employment, to bewail Schollars that are, or have bin out for a long time together, and by the riches they may hope to get, to bewail the deep poverty of many Learned and pious men : We envy you not, go on and prosper, *Do worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem,* and build the City (though in another sense) as *Rachel and Leah did build the house of Israel*, that is, a great and renowned City, as that was a Family ; Build up your own Estates so far as justly you may whilst you Build other mens Houses ; *But oh that my head were Waters, and mine eyes a Fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my People.* I mean over the condition of Schollars, Learned and worthy men (or many of them) who under most Changes and Revolutions, have bin, and are like to be undone.

DISCOURSE XLVII.

Of the rebuilding of Churches.

HOW earnestly were it to be wished, that men, and women of Estates, would apply their charity to the building of Churches? Did I call it charity? surely that word is beneath the thing: for what is given to Gods use immediately, or to the use of his worship, and service, is not *Charity* (strictly so called) but *Piety*. Our *charity* extends not to God, but to the Saints that are upon the earth: for God receives no *alms* for his own use, but *tribute*, as do Princes. Yet I have let the word Charity slip, because whatsoever is given without constraint, and of a willing mind, is vulgarly called by that name, (and *loquendum cum vulgo* is no ill rule) at leastwise when it is given to those that want it: now though the great God do not want Churches, (*Acts 17. 25. God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with mens hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and all things.*) Yet his servants do want them, yea and money too (many of them) wherewith to contribute any thing towards the building of them, and Churches are given as to God, in one sense, viz. as places dedicated to his worship, so in another sense to men, as good accommodations, and conveniences, for that publick worship which they should tender unto God; now upon this latter account it is perfect *charity* to build Churches, though in respect of the former it was *piety*, now where *piety* and *charity* go hand in hand, where they greet and kiss each other, they speak the work excellent, in which they two concur, and give great hopes of good success

to them that shall take it in hand, as the appearance of *Castor* and *Pollux* both at once, had wont to be construed by Mariners as a good presage of a prosperous voyage to insue.

As needful a work as I do apprehend it, to rebuild Churches, I would not say one word of it, if I did not think there were persons enough in *England*, to bear the charge of it: and do themselves no great hurt. There are, whose cups are full, and do overflow; who have enough, and to spare, *who have more than heart can wish*, that is, need to wish, for matter of estate, &c. Many wealthy persons have no heirs of their own bodies, nor can expect any, nor kindred it may be that are very near, and dear to them: others have heirs of their own bodies, but not fit to be made heirs of their whole estates (or *heredes ex asse*) because they can expect no other, but that they will quickly run out all, and bring themselves to husks, as did the prodigal, *Luk. 15*. Or as that great Lawyer prophesied of his eldest son; to whom he said in his last Will and Testament, that he left his estate to be scrambled away, and imbezled, for he could hope no better. (*neque enim de illo melius spero*)

Have such persons as these nothing to spare towards the rebuilding of Churches. If God had given them many children, (whom he hath been pleased to write childless) they could have given every child a fair portion, and made them all rich; and will not their hearts serve them to give the value of one child's portion, or of what they could have given to one, if they had had seven, or ten children (as they have none) towards building up convenient places for the worship of God? would such a proportion undo them? yea would they so much as feel it? what if the wealthy parents of hopeless children

children, did say to them as *David* said to *Mephiboshish*? *Thou and Zibah divide the inheritance*, so in this case, thou and the desolate Churches, and other pious uses, shall even divide my estate betwixt you; surely in this case *πλέον ὑμῖν πάντος*, that half is more than the whole, is as true as in any, viz. that half a fathers estate, is more to be given to a hopeless child, than the whole of it, to one that is good and hopeful.

Others (it may be) have a child or two not un- hopeful, (but that is all they have) and the estate is so great as would have richly provided for many more; if such shall pretend that they have nothing to spare to good uses, neither would they have had, by the rule they go upon, if the whole world had bin theirs, for their rule is this, that whatsoever they have, be it ever so much they must leave it, intirely to their Children, be they ever so few: yea though they have but one, he or she must have all, and by that means they load them with thick clay, till they break their backs again, they tempt some loose persons to steal them, if they be daughters, or to inveagle them if they be sons, they make them see so great an estate before them, that they think they shall never come to the end of it, they begin to think of dividing it, as the mother of *Sisera* and her wife ladies spake of his dividing the spoil, *To every man a damsel or two* (*Judg. 5. 30.*) *a prey of divers colours of needle work, on both sides meet for the necks of them that take the spoil*, I say they begin to think of dividing, or dedicating it, so much to *Bacchus*, and so much more to *Venus*, and so much to other heathenish Gods, and Goddeses of pleasure. Thus some destroy their children as that *Tarpetan* Virgin was destroyed, by overwhelming them with bracelets, I mean with riches more than they know what to do withall.

Were

Were it not better that some part of such an estate were given to good uses ? went to build Churches ? A private mans estate may be too great, as well as to little, as some Kingdoms have been, which have sunk with their own weight (*mole ruerunt sua*,) A ship may have too much ballast, as well as too little, and a boat may be overfet by too great a sail. When those that have more than enough for them and theirs, have so much wisdom as to hear, and so much grace as to confess it, it will appear that *England* doth not want for money, sufficient for the rebuilding of Churches. I doubt not but some who have but midling estates, and many Children will contribute freely to the building of Churches, and should not they much more who have great estates, and no great charg, but few children, or all bad, or none at all ? If this be not a reasonable motion (themselves being Judges) let it be refused.

Many are at great expences every year, upon things of far less consequence than is the building of Churches : I would beg but a year or two's revenue, such and so great, as some men spend upon their lusts, be they the lusts of the flesh, or the pride of life, I say no more, as from them, for and towards the re-edifying of demolished Churches. Alas that men should be more free, and bountiful to their sins, than to their Souls, to works of darkness, than to works of piety, to damn their Souls, than to promote the means of saving them.

Synagogues of State swarm every where, and are carefully provided for. There are Temples to *Bacchus*, and *Venus* almost innumerable, and much frequented. Men are about to build for themselves better houses than they had before, and while they they so do, would it not be a great shame if they should

should build no house for God? must God be but as it were a sojourner, whilst we dwell in ceiled houses? must the Ark remain as it were in tents? must religion be but a *tenant at will* having here and there a room afforded it, upon meer courtesy? There are (for ought I hear) but a moiety of Churches to what were formerly intended to be built, though the inhabitants of *London*, are like to be as many as ever: if the piety of this time will not extend to that moiety, it will be thought to be not half so much, as was the piety of former ages.

How gladly would the *Hugonites* in *France* rebuild their Churches, which were wilfully pulled down; if they might have leave to do it? we have leave and encouragement, and shall we not build ours? How much more decent, how much more convenient, how much more publick, (generally) how much more unsuspected, and unliable to cavils, and exceptions from the world, is the exercise of religion in Churches than in private houses? How did Infidels take occasion (though most unjustly) by the primitive Christians, their assembling in private, to charg those horrid things upon them, which they could never have done, if they had met in publick? What religion is there in the world, that hath not publick temples erected for the exercise of it (whether *Jewish*, or *Mahumetan*, (if it be but permitted.)

What noble Temples have been erected to idol Gods, *which are no Gods*, as that at *Ephesus* to *Diana*? It hath been a custome amongst the Jews to throw down the book of *Esther* upon the ground, because the name of God is not found in all that book: I do no more commend them for it, than *Moses* for throwing down the two tables of the Law: but this I'll say, God may justly do so by *London viz.*
throw

throw it to the ground again, if his name be not so far regarded, and recorded there, as by building up places for his publick worship.

Do you build Churches, and then trust God to provide good Ministers, provide you candlesticks, and God will take care for burning and shining lights, as when *Isaac* said *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb, &c.* And *Abraham* said *God will provide a lamb for a burnt offering*, Gen. 22. 7. The people found beasts to sacrifice, the priests presented them to God, and God found fire from Heaven to consume them, in token of acceptance, *Pf.* 20. 3. *The Lord remember all thy offerings, and accept,* (turn to ashes it is in the original) *all thy burnt sacrifice*, for that God did shew he was willing to eat of that meat which they had provided for him. The widow spoken of, *2 Kings* 4. 4. She found vessels, and God found oyle to fill them. Shall Papists build many and magnificent Churches, for the purposes of their Idolatry, and shall we build none, or none in comparison, for the true worship of God? They will go nigh to say that protestants in *England* had never had any Churches worth the speaking of, but that men of their religion built them. How kindly did God take it, that *David* did but purpose to build him a house (though he were prevented) and from *Solomon* that he did it? How great encouragements were given to building of the Temple, *Haggai* 1. 4, 8. *Build the house, and I will take pleasure in it, and be glorified saith the Lord.*

What if there were a more visible presence of God in the temple at *Jerusalem*, where he dwelt in the thick cloud, and in many sensible tokens of his presence? yet there is as real (though invisible) yea sometimes as comfortable a presence of God in the places where his people now do or may assemble

assemble to worship him, and God in such Churches as ours, is or may be served in as pure ordinances, and in as acceptable a manner, as he had wont to be in the temple at *Jerusalem*.

There was indeed a ceremonial holiness in that temple, and in the utensils belonging to it, which is not in our Churches, and in the utensils thereof, that is to say, that temple, and the appurtenances thereof, were so peculiarly, and intirely dedicated to God, and to his service, that they could not without prophaneſs be put to any other use, neither at one time nor at another. Therefore our Saviour whipt the buyers and sellers out of the temple, telling them it was *a house of prayer*, and we read of the *shew-bread* that it *was not lawful for any to eat, but only for the Priests*, Mat. 12. 14. Doubtless *Belshazzar*, and his company, were profane in drinking their wine, out of the vessels of the temple, Dan. 5. 2. and that was counted as part of their sin: but we challenge not to our Churches, and the utensils thereof, such a holiness as this, viz. of being appropriated to the use of Religion, and to no other use, at any time and upon any occasion whatsoever, witness the liberty given in many parts of *England*, to teach school in publick Churches, though consecrated; implying that the exercise of that civil employment there, is no ways opposite to that which is meant by the consecration of Churches. Like instance might be given in the performance of academical exercises, such as are making of speeches, managing of philosophical disputes, not only in private Chappels, but in the most publick and eminent Churches, belonging to both our universities. Now they that allow such things, do thereby intimate that they attribute no such ceremonial holiness to our Churches, as did belong to the temple at

at *Jerusalem*, which to have so imployed had been great profaneness, but that they conceive that all civil, and secular uses, and imployments are there, and then only, to be banished from our Churches, when the service of God is there celebrating, or to be celebrated. Just as we look upon the bread, and wine that is brought to the Communion Table, to be holy, only so far forth as it is made use of in, and for the purpose of the Lords Supper, and during the time of that administration, but when that is over, what remaineth may be used as common bread, sopt into wine crum'd into milk, or otherwise which may not be done to it, whilst the Lords Supper is celebrating: so in this case, when, and so long, as there is any occasion, or opportunity of religious service to be performed in our Churches, they must be wholly at the service of Religion, and all things else must avoid, and give way: but when religion hath no present use, or occasion for them, at all such times, they may be for the use of those civil, and secular affairs, which have need of them, and cannot be elsewhere so well accommodated.

This notion may (for ought I know) remove a stumbling block out of some mens way, which would have kept them from the contributing to the building of Churches, as thinking that Churches, by virtue of that which is called the consecrating of them, were lookt upon to be as holy as ever the temple at *Jerusalem* was, and in the same kind, viz. of ceremonial holiness; whereas indeed there is no such thing intended, as appeareth by the allowance given to put them to common uses, as to teach school in them, &c. but only as a religious man would dedicate his own house to God, as resolving to serve, and worship God in it, though not to use

use it only for the purposes of Religion, so are Churches dedicated to the uses of Religion, primarily, and principally, and for as often as Religion hath occasion for them, but so as not to be to those purposes solely, and only to them, and to no other, in which peculiarity, and entireness of Dedication, did consist that *Ceremonial holiness* which was in the Temple of *Jerusalem*. The places in which we worship God, for, and during the time we are actually worshipping, are, or should be as holy as the Temple was; that is to say, wholly devoted to the service of God, and to no other use for that time (as I said of the bread and wine in the Communion) though afterwards, they are free for other uses. *Melchisedeck* who was both King and Priest, was not the less holy as a Priest, because he had also the secular employment of a King, neither are our Churches any wayes prophaned, by being sometimes put to uses that are but civil, and not Sacred.

Moral Holiness there was none in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, for places are not capable of such holiness as persons are, *viz.* that which consists in *genere morum*, as in loving of God, and delighting in God, &c. for that only reasonable creatures are capable of: neither was there any intrinsecal and innate holiness in the Temple, such as is in part of that which we call the Moral Law, which was good, and holy in it self (*quedam Deus voluit quia in se bona*) but the Temple was holy only by Divine Institution and separation to Gods Service, which otherwise had bin no more holy than another place.

Lastly, A *Relative* holiness (or what may be so called) was all that could be attributed to the Temple, for it was holy, only in relation to those holy uses it was set apart for, and those holy Ordinances and Priviledges, and manifestations of God,
which

which were there to be enjoyed, only because it was by Gods appointment separated from all common uses, at all times, and appointed to relate wholly, and only to the service of God, therefore we call it *Ceremonially* Holy. As it were matter of meer Ceremony to bow towards a Chair of State, as well when it is empty, as when the King is in it. So if our Churches ought alwayes to be used with the same Reverence, and Sequestration from all things of a Secular nature, when the service of God is not actually performing there, as when it is, then were they Ceremonially holy, but it is not so, as I have shewed, therefore in the case of our Churches, what was said of the Altar may be inverted, *viz.* it was said of old that *the Altar did sanctify the Gift*; but in this case, the *Gift* sanctifieth the Altar, that is to say, the holiness of our Churches being nothing else, but their relation to holy things, when those holy things are not present, when no Ordinance is administering, for that time they may be put to other uses, because the special presence of God in our Churches, is only then, when his Name is there Recorded, and his people met together in his Name; whereas God was alwayes specially present in the Temple, by the visible manifestations of his Presence, as namely, by the Cloud in which he dwelt, &c. Our Churches do relate to as holy things, and as holy Ordinances, as the Temple did, only those holy things are not so constantly in it, as was the presence of God in that Temple, where he constantly dwelt.

I have beaten out this notion, to let you see that there is no such great odds betwixt the Temple at *Jerusalem* and other places built for the service of God (neither of them being *morally* holy, and both of them being *relatively* holy, only the Temple was
 so

so continually, and our Churches are so but *pro die & nunc*, or during the time of Religious administrations) I say the odds between them is not so great, but that an Argument may very well be drawn from Gods approbation of what was intended by *David*, and done by *Solomon* towards the building of that Temple, to evince what acceptance they are like to meet with, who for sincere aims and ends, do, or shall contribute their assistance to the building of Churches.

I could easily multiply reasons why, though it is good to draw nigh to God any where, and to worship him though it were in *Mountains, and dens, and Caves of the Earth*, as the Primitive Christians were forced to do, yet it is most expedient, and of great use, that publick places, such as those we call Churches, should be erected for the Worship and Service of God. For first of all, no man knows how soon the door may be shut against the exercise of Religion in any private place, I mean by them that first opened it, or by those that shall come after them. Where Religion dwels but *precariously*, or upon meer sufferance (and not by the sanction of Law) it may soon be cast out (like *Agar* and her son) because there she is not Mistress, she cannot call the house her own. If the Landlord, or Landlords shall take pet at any thing, then out she must, and so be hunted from place to place, as often as offence is taken, which to take, is the commonest thing in the world.

I am mistaken if private and small Assemblies will not necessarily multiply *in infinitum*, if places for publick Worship be not built. If a great Family were crowded into a house, in which every room were very small (like Cabins in a ship) it were impossible that whole Family should eat, and

drink, and converse all together, but every one must eat and drink by himself, or only some few in a company, which would be very uncomfortable, and a great disorder.

Some may think that the variety of Opinions which are in *England* at this day, would cause as great multiplicity of Assemblies as now is, though there were ever so many publick Churches: but I am not of their mind, for that I have taken notice, that where men of good lives, and of good abilities, have Preached, the Congregation hath consisted of sober persons, of very different perswasions, who out of a respect to publick Ordinances, have there presented themselves, though it may be scarce two of them of a different sort, are ordinarily found together at the same private Meeting. I do not at all despair, but that some little prejudices which now keep good men asunder, will in time wear off, and that (with the blessing of God) what I have written in this book, will somewhat contribute to it, or they themselves, by degrees, will see the vanity, groundlessness, and ill consequence of their divisions, and when that is done, one Church will hold them, whom now a few cannot.

The inconvenience and ill consequence of having many divisions, and sub-divisions of Christian Societies, more than is needful, or than use to be, is greater than can easily be foreseen. If one and the same Church or Society break into ten, or twenty distinct Churches, or Societies, every one of them under several Teachers, and going their own way, will they not have less love for one another, less converse together, less of Majesty and Authority, less strength and power to withstand those that shall oppose and set themselves against them, than they had when they were all together? Who had

not

not rather have any thing whole than in small pieces? who will give so much for parcels, and remnants, as for that cloth, or stuff, which is cut out of the whole piece? Bread that is cut, drieth and spoils presently, and they say that beer drinks smaller, and dies sooner, when there is but a little of it, than when a great quantity is put up together. Should an army be divided into as many regiments, as there are companies in it, and into as many companies, as there are squadrons, it would be nothing like so able to deal with an enemy, nor would it be half so capable, as now it is, of good government, and discipline.

Surely a good government in the Church were better than none at all; nor can the Church well subsist without some government, any more than a State can do: but certainly the Church can at no time admit of any government, either of one sort, or of another, in case it were so, there were no publick Churches, or publick congregations: for if it happen there be ten, or twenty societies, for one that use to be, that have no relation to one another, nor no certain places of meeting, who can take an account of them, or have a due inspection over them? If a master that hath two hundred scholars, should divide them into fifty several forms, or *Classes*, reading distinct Authors, how impossible would it be for him to teach them all? whereas if he reduce them all to five or six forms, with the help of an usher, or two, he may teach them well enough.

Let there be no government in the Church and then all will be Prophets, all will be teachers, or as many as please to make themselves so, and as can gain a few people to hear them, the people will make to themselves *Prophets of the lowest of the people, as did Jeroboam*: (now it is a great evil to make teach-

ers of them that are none, as well as to make no teachers of them that are, or ought to be such) and they that preach will preach what they list, none controlling them) and practise how they list and the end of that will be woful ignorance, error, dissention and confusion, which cannot be prevented, unless the Church (that great school of Christ) do consist of larg forms or *Classes*, I mean publick Churches and congregations, to which the *masters of assemblies* may have an eye, be those masters of assemblies of one judgment, or of another. If scholars repair to their schools at school time, and there receive the instruction of honest and able masters, (if it be their happiness to have such) they may better be trusted as to what they shal do at other hours, either in their closets or chambers, when they are by themselves, or in company, and consultation one with another.

Publick Churches will make way for Christians to testifie their union, and communion with one another, by joyning there together (whatsoever opportunities over and above those, they shall make use of in private.

Solomon tels us, that *the borrower is servant to the lender*, Prov. 22. 7. If there be publick places erected, primarily, for religious worship, then religion will be in a condition to lend: (as when Churches are lent, at such times as they can be spared, to such as teach school, and cannot be otherwise provided) but if there be no such, Religion must borrow, and so become a servant, which ought to be every ones master.

Private places of worship frequented by those who altogether refrain the publick, are ordinarily called by some name of distinction, and appropriation, as namely the place where the *Quakers* meet,

or

or the *Anabaptists meeting-house*, or such like, whereas publick Churches carry no such names of distinction with them, nor pretend to any other, than to keep open house for all comers, that have a desire to wait upon God, in his ordinances, (be they of twenty several judgments) and that methinks is much better : for till names of distinction cease divisions will continue, and I see no reason why they who agree in the fundamental doctrines, and practises of Christianity, should not be willing to pray and hear, and sing Psalms together, (where those duties are piously and solemnly performed) though they differ about twenty little things. Even infidels should be admitted to publick prayer, and preaching, how else should they believe in him of whom they have not heard ? or how should they be converted ? and as for those who in the judgment of charity are true believers though varying from us, in some small opinions, and practises, I know not why we should exclude them from fellowship with us in the Lords Supper, which is to raile in the Communion Table in the worst of senses.

To have no publick Churches would carry such a face with it, as if no Religion were owned, established, and countenanced, or any thing more than tollerated, and connived at (like a tollerable evil, rather than an indispensable good) or rather as if all Religion were persecuted, and driven into corners.

If Religion be exercised only in private places, vice hath as much liberty as that comes to : drunkenness, and whoredom take their freedom in private houses, and shall Religion appear no more publickly than they ? as if it also were a work of darkness, and ashamed to shew it's head.

If I thought that all the reasons I have alledged, would not prevail with men of estates to contribute

freely towards the building of Churches: I could upbraid them, by telling them that which is no news (For were it news I would not tell it them,) viz. that several places of good capacity, have been erected by a sort of people that are generally none of the richest, and who when they did it, had cause to fear least some creature or other, would cause their ground to wither, and expose them to the scorching Sun. I say some persons have adventured under those perillous circumstances, to build larg places for the exercise of their Religion, all their discouragements notwithstanding: if then the people who are richer than they, who have leave and incouragement, to build publick Churches, and may have many thanks for their labour, who have the law of the land on their side, and all the power of the nation divided amongst them, whose Churches are as like to stand as the City it self is, or will be, when rebuilt; I say if they have not so much love for the nation, for themselves, and for Religion, as to build us more *Synagogues* in lieu of those that were burnt, the *Chappels of ease* I spake of, or *shrines* (what shall I call them) will rise up in judgment against you.

If you will not build publick Churches, who are like to have the greatest interest in them, when they are built, I was about to say those poor people I mentioned but now, (as hardly as they are thought of) would (I am perswaded spare money from their backs and bellies, to build more Churches, if they might be sure they should be theirs, as much as yours when they are built again: nay, be it how it will be, such is the love, the soberer sort of them do bear to publick ordinances, that I question not but they will bear their full proportion; whensoever trial shall be made, what every man will

freely

freely contribute to the building of publick Churches. If those that speak little of the Church, should do more for it than some that have the Church, the Church, ever in their mouths (as the Jews of old, *the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, Jer. 7. 4.) it would be a woful shame.

But why should I seem to mistrust, or doubt of the piety, and bounty, of the true sons and daughters of the Church, towards their distressed mother? who hath not heard of that noble Lady (whether now living, or dead I know not) who out of her own estate hath given some thousands of pounds towards the rebuilding, of the Church of *S. Dunstons in the East*, (now in a good forwardness) and of what the liberal Minister of that place, is said himself to have given towards that good work? even more than many good Ministers have in all the world. Their zeal (I hope) will provoke many. I hope it will, and I do earnestly desire it may: for a sad *climax* runs in my thoughts, and I am much perswaded if it should come to be tried, it would prove to true, *viz.* no publick Churches, no legal maintenance; no legal maintenance, in time no able Ministers, (for who will study to be starved?) no good ministry, no good preaching, no good preaching, no conversion, no conversion, no salvation. But I hope beter things than that the Churches which are demolished should not be rebuilt, much less the Churches that now stand should be demolished.

That sun of charity (or piety rather) which hath begun to rise in the *East*, will I hope, visit all the dark and desolate corners of *Londons hemisphere* (for that I take to be the figure of it) and not give over its circuit, till having refreshed every dolesome and gloomy place, at length it set in the west: where the other Church of that name of (*S. Dun-*

stans; I mean) is standing at this day.

I am loath to say that the rebuilding of Churches in *London*, if it be not done by voluntary contribution, and by way of free-will offerings, it will certainly be done by constraint, and compulsion from authority: and if authority be forced to interpose, in a matter of this nature, it will be no small shame and reproach to us, and seem to signifie that we would not be religious but upon force, which is to be no more religious, than they may be said to be honest, who never pay their creditors, but when they strain upon them (or make distress) which is indeed for creditors to pay themselves.

Time was when the bounty of men towards the Church was such, and so great, that Laws were made to limit, and restrain it, for that men were ready to say to a father or to a mother, as the *Pharisees* did, *Mat. 15. 5.* *It is a gift, (Corban) viz. to the Church by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me:* and we find *Moses* was fain to set bounds to the sea of the peoples liberality towards the tabernacle in his time, saying hitherto should it go, and no farther, *Exod. 36. 5.* *And they spake unto Moses saying, the people bring much more than enough, and Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp saying, let neither man nor woman make any more work, for the offering of the sanctuary, so the people were restrained from bringing.* I wish that at this day there were an overplus of liberality towards the demolished Churches, I mean more contributed, than would serve to rebuild them, that like as the ointment which was poured upon the head of *Aaron* ran down upon his beard, and upon the skirts of his garment, so that what is more than enough for the re-edifying of Churches, might go to the rebuilding of *Hospitals*, and publick
Schools,

Schools, and of one place more, viz. the late famous, but now desolate foundation of Sion Colledge.

DISCOURSE XLVIII.

That the people of England are most unworthy to see another London.

THE rebuilding of *London* would be a national mercy: but how unworthy is this nation of it? Never did people more justly forfeit a City, and every other mercy, than we have done. As *Africa* is full of monsters in nature, so is *England* in manners. As if we had traded for vice, instead of other commodities, with all forreign parts: we have amongst us the drunkenness of *Germany*, the pride of *Spain*, (*but not so grave*) the levity and lasciviousness of *France*, the atheism, hypocrisy, reveng, and the unnatural lusts of *Italy*. We have much of the *Indian* disease amongst us (for so some say it was at first) and are forced to spend a great deal of their commodity, I mean their *Lignum vite*, that is, their *guaiacum*, using that *tree of Life* (as they call it) as an antidote against the poison of that forbidden fruit, which is too commonly tasted of.

England hath done wickedness as it could, that is, with all its might. Profaneness is come in upon us like a flood: men glory now a daies in their shame, and seem ashamed of that wherein they should glory. I hear that some are ambitious to be thought more wicked than they have been, or could be. There are (they say) that will boast of those sins which they never did, or had opportunity to commit. There are that strive to bring vertue into disgrace, and vice into request.

If

If men would learn to sin, we can teach other nations those oaths, and execrations, which possibly they never heard else-where, and will be afraid at first to make use of, such as *Dam* them, *ram* them, *sink them into Hell*, *body and soul*: with several others, yea we could teach them such profound blasphemy as would even astonish them at the first hearing, and make their hair stand an end, yea such as I dare not here recite.

Englishmen declare their sins like *Sodom*: They that are drunk, are drunk in the day time, as well as in the night (some are seldom sober night or day:) they sin *with a whores forehead*, and *with a brow of brass*. We have many *Absaloms* now a daies, that do as it were spread a tent in the face of the Sun, and there display their wickedness. *England* hath all the sins of the seven Churches of *Asia*, for which God hath long since destroyed them, and given their land to the *Turk*; *Ephesus* left its first love to God and Religion, *Rev. 2. 4.* and so hath *England* done. Were there those in *Smyrna* who blasphemed saying they were *Jews*, when they were of the Synagogue of Satan? and are there not many such in *England*? were there those in *Pergamos*, who taught the doctrine of *Balaam*, who taught *Balaac* to cast a stumbling block before the children of *Israel*, viz. By setting fair women on work to tempt them to commit both fleshly and spiritual whoredom, both Adultery, and Idolatry: *Numb. 25. 1.* And are there not such in *England*? and as some in *Pergamos* held the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*) which thing (saith God) I hate, (namely the doctrine of wives being common, for that is said to have bin the doct. of the *Nicolaitans*) and have we none that pretend it to be their opinion, as well as make it their practise so to do? Was *Thyatira* charged with suffering the woman *Jezabel*,

to seduce others to fornication, and idolatry? *Rev.*
 20. And have we no *Jezebels* amongst us, that do
 the same thing? had many in *Sardis* but a name to
 live, whilst they were dead, and is not that the case
 of many in *England* at this day? Was *Laodicea*
 charged with lukewarmness, *That she was neither*
cold nor hot, *Rev.* 3. 14. and doth not that sin exceed-
 ingly abound amongst us? Did the *Laodiceans* think
 themselves spiritually rich, and to have need of
 nothing, when they were poor and miserable, &c.
 And do not many amongst us do the same thing? I
 find but one of all the seven Churches that did escape
 reproof, and that was *Philadelphia*, but it is
 scarce to be discerned, that there is any such Church
 amongst us, that from its love of the brethren, or
 brotherhood, or whole fraternity of Christians,
 deserves the name of *Philadelphia*: for as iniquity
 aboundeth, so is the love of most men waxen
 cold.

I could proceed to higher things, and say, we
 have learnt to bring serious preaching, and preach-
 ers upon the stage, and to bring some thing like
 stage-plaiers, now and then into the pulpit. Had
 not his Majesty by his most excellent Proclamation
 against profaneness, discountenanced the attempt
 some were going about (as one would think) to
 make Religion the mark of a Rebel, and profaneness
 the test of loyalty; vilifying such persons, as no
 good subjects, who would not swear, and curse,
 and health it, and drink themselves drunk, &c.
 Now we have *Hectors* for Atheism, for Popery, and
 what not? that is, there are that will undertake
 openly to justifie, and patronize, atheism, po-
 pery, &c. Our land is full of blood, violence,
 fraud, oppression. May it not be said *O England*,
England, as of old *O Jerusalem*, *Jerusalem*, &c. We
 are

are disjoynted, both as to spirituals, and temporals like one that is newly come off from the rack? we have been smitten, and yet have revolted more and more. Hell is broke loose upon us, I scarce forbear that homely proverb we have, *even raked Hell and scummed the Devil*. All flesh amongst us hath corrupted it self, we have exceeded the line of the wicked.

Will God build a new City for us? why should he? our sins are out of measure sinful. Some of us are *an incouragement to evil doers, and a terrour to them that do well*. We speak evil of those that run not with us into the same excess of riot: he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey amongst some men. We are full of envy and strife, from whence *cometh confusion and every evil work*. We love the worst men and things best, and the best worst. Some of us will neither be good our selves, nor suffer others to be so: as Christi said to the *Scribes and Pharisees, Ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men, for ye neither go in your selves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in, Mat. 23. 13.*

The people of *England* are generally in extreame at this day, some are almost mad with mirth, and others almost dead with melancholy. Some are all of a foam with anger, and others all of a froth with lightness and drollery. *Atheism, Idolatry, Profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, ill carriage in and towards relations, Murther, Adultery, Theft, Fals-witness, Covetousness*; are the ten great sins, (the ten predicaments as I may call them which all sins are reduced to) and these our land doth wofully abound with. For matter of robbery, we are even a *den of Thieves*, for filthiness a *cage of unclean birds*, for strife a *Meribah*, or as *Meshec*, and the tents of *Kedar*, for blood an *Aceldama*: Our *Moseesses* many of them break

break both the Tables of the Law, of which by office they are keepers. Our *Aarons* too often make *Golden Calves*, there are many *Achans* that trouble us sore, some by *stealing the babylonish garment*, I mean by their propensions, and stealing on towards Popery, witness their own suspicious expressions in publick, (if not more than suspicious) others again by *stealing the shekels of silver and the wedg of gold*, (alluding to *Josh. 7. 21.*) I mean by their deceit and oppression, both of which are perfect theft.

We are many of us more brutish, than was *Balaams Ass*, who seeing a sword drawn against him would not go forward, and as brutish as the Prophet his rider, whose madness was rebated by the Ass, for that he would switch and spur on nevertheless: that is, we will not see the hand of God, which hath time after time, been lifted up against us, but go on still as *Pharaoh* did towards the red-sea, though we (as he of old) have met with many rebukes and strivings of God, with and against us. We have many *Jonasses* who sent by God to *Nineveh*, will go for *Tarshish*, that is, many that are found fighters against God, as if they were stronger than he: many of us live, as if we had no sence at all of Heaven, or Hell, or could demonstrate that our Souls were not immortal, or were by profession *Sadducees*, and not *Christians*. Now as to this whole charge, I would say as *Job* doth, *Job 24. 25.* *And if it be not so now who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?* Will God build a City for us, or for such as we? why was not *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* built again? why was the building of *Jericho* prohibited? and not the rebuilding of *London*? might we not rather think that if there were no Hell, (as certainly there is) God would make a Hell on purpose for such as we?

DISCOURSE XLIX.

On Gods being the maker and builder of all things.

THe less and greater world are both of Gods making, as the Apostle declareth, *Heb. 5. 6. But he that built all things is God. He made us* (saith the Psalmist) *and not we our selves.* The upper and lower world are both of them Gods workmanship. He made a *Chaos* out of nothing, and out of that *Chaos* all things.

How fitly is the world compared to a building? what a stately roof is the Heaven over our heads? what a goodly floor is the earth under our feet? certain it is these could not make themselves, nor could any thing else that was made, make it self: For whatsoever was made, sometimes was not, and and that which sometimes was not, or was nothing, could never have been, but for him who always was, or who did exist from eternity, who calleth himself by the name of *I am*, I never knew that creature yet that could create any thing, that is, that could make any thing out of nothing, were it but a mote in the sun, or if there be any thing more mean, and inconsiderable then that.

Who can make a building to stand as the world doth stand, hanging upon nothing, but poised as it were with its own weight? By the work of creation, or building a world of nothing; doth the true, and the living God, distinguish himself from all that are but called Gods, and particularly from Idols, *Jer. 10. 11. The Gods that have not made the Heavens, and the earth, they shall perish from the earth, and from under these Heavens.* Men and Angels, can

no more make a worm, than they can make a world.

How *fearfully* and wonderfully are we our selves made? what a curious house is the body of man? what chrystal windows are his eyes? How full of rare workmanship? how many doors are in that building, some greater some less, by which to let in and to let out: every pore in the body being as it were a several door, which when they are all shut, we find the house so hot, there is no induring it, till we can open them again.

What strong and firm timber are our bones, compared to such a building as the body is? what pretty hinges are the *Vertebra*, or turning joynts? what neat rasters are the ribs? what strong pillars, and supporters are our leggs? what wonderful contrivances are there, that man, though a walking dunghill, I mean though he always carry about with him a great deal of filth, and excrement, of several kinds, yet should be no offence to himself, or others, though that be many times hard to prevent, even in great houses, many of which have unavoidable nuncencies.

What a kitchen is the stomach? what dairies are the breasts of Women? what delicate thatch is the hair upon our heads, what drains are the *glands*, and *emunctories* of the body? what conduit pipes are the veins, and arteries? what chimneyes are our mouthes; always letting out smoke as we experiment in frosty weather, when our breath can be discerned, as being by the cold condensated? What handsome lattices are the pores of our bodies to let in air by? what spouts are the nostrils? I stand upon no order, but only design to enumerate most things in the body, which bear a proportion to building, or to a house, taking them as they come to hand. To proceed then, what a roof is the head?

what

what window-shutters are the eye-lids? what little wickets are the *valves*? what locks, and keyes are the sphincteral muscles? what props, and shores, are our hands, and armes to keep those houses from falling to the ground, when they are in danger so to do? Whither might I not pursue this allegory? methinks I am in a kind of *meander* wandering backwards and forwards, and cannot find the way out.

What pretty closets and butteries, are the several ventricles of the head, and heart, &c. what partition walls are the midriffe, and the *mediastinum*? what a long entry is the throat, and meat-pipe? what bloody slaughter-houses are the liver and spleen? (and yet without annoyance) what a cistern is the bladder? what a stove is the heart, heating the whole body by certain pipes without any visible fire? how are pipes and small vessels conveying such nourishing juices as the body stands in need of, laid into every part of it? what neat plaistring is our flesh? what curious painting, or colouring is the blood that is in the faces of sanguine, and ruddy persons? how is every man built three stories high, for so I call the three *venters*, as Anatomists do stile them, *viz.* the head, breast, and belly :) and how many good, and necessary rooms are there in every one of those stories? what a house within a house, is a child within the womb? and how little ground doth one (yea sometimes two or three together) stand upon? Thus have I taken a short, and a confused Survey of the little world (our bodies I mean) the maker and builder whereof is God. Well may I cry out with the Psalmist, *Pf. 104. 24.* O Lord how manifold are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all.

How many artificers and labourers go to the building of one house, where men are the builders?
Carpenters,

Carpenters, Bricklayers, Plaisterers, Smiths, Joy-
ners, Glaziers, &c. each of these ordinarily have their
several employments about one house, ere it be
brought to perfection, besides a Surveyor to supervise
the work, and poor labouring men to be subservient
thereunto: God had no such trouble in making the
whole world, he did but speak and it was done, *he
made all things by the word of his power.* The build-
ing of one house by men, requireth a great deal
more time, than God took to make the whole
world in, that is, than six daies, and he whose
pleasure it was to be six daies in making it, could
have made it in one minute, or moment of time.

Must we attribute to God only the building of
the world at first? or must we not also acknowledg
him, the author of all the buildings which have been
ever since, whether Cities, Towns, Villages, or
particular houses? It is said *we are Gods off-spring,*
1st 17. 28. and why, but because we are the chil-
dren of *Adam who was the Son of God,* Luk. 3. 38. The
cause of the cause, is the cause of the effects. By
the same reason, God having made men, by whom
houses are built (*for every house is builded by some
man,* Heb. 3. 4.) and given unto men all that wis-
dom which they have for building (as for every
other purpose) (*Exod. 33. 35.*) it being he that
gives men leave to build, when he could hinder it,
and opportunity to build which he could easily
with-hold, and strength to build, which he could
have denied, and success in building, which none
but himself could give, these things considered, we
see great reason for what the Psalmist saith, *Psal.*
*127. 1. Except the Lord build the house they labour in
vain that build it.*

DISCOURSE L.

Of the rebuilding of those houses of clay, wherein we now dwell, or of the Resurrection of our bodies.

Our bodies are houses that must be demolished, and it is as probable by fire, as any how : for feavers are a kind of fire, and they destroy a great, if not the greatest part of mankind. Howsoever *dust they are, and to dust they must return.* Yet so surely as they shall fall, so certain it is that they shall rise again; *there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of those just and unjust, Acts 24. 15.*

I doubt not of the possibility of a *Resurrection*, sith I am sure of the truth of a *Creation*, and to raise the bodies of men out of dust, is not of more difficulty, than to raise a world out of a *Chaos*, and that *Chaos* out of nothing.

To say though such a thing as a *Resurrection* be possible, yet it shall never be, were to deny that principle which is common to most Religions in the world, and which is the main foundation they are built upon, *viz.* the doctrine of a future estate, or of a life after this.

Christ told the *Jewes*, that if they destroyed the temple of his body, he would raise it up again in three daies, and so he did, and that he did so, I say the evidence, and assurance we have that he did do so, is the great prop and pillar of our Christian faith : therefore the scripture saith of Christ, that he was declared to be the son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead, Rom. 1. 4. If Christ had not risen again the third day (according to his promise) his disciples had certainly renounced all confidence in him

him, and taken him for an impostor, and not for the Son of God, and Saviour of the world: but we are well assured that both they, and many hundreds of others, who lived about the same time, or not long after them, did strenuously assert that Christ did rise from the dead, and did seal that truth with their blood, that being the main article against them, that they did so believe: as *S. Paul* saith, *Act. 13. 6. Of the hope and resurrection of the dead, I am called in question,* and *Acts 25. 19. They had certain questions against him, of one Jesus which was dead whom Paul affirmed to be alive. But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen,* (as the Apostle argues, *1 Cor. 15. 13.*) but that Christ is risen, the sufferings of so many, near unto Christ his time, I say their suffering unto death, for the seal of Christ, whom they had not known to have been the true Messiah, if he had not risen again (according to his promise) do abundantly witness.

Canst thou believe that all mankind must perish? No it must be, if Christ be not risen, for saith the Apostle, *v. 17. If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain, ye are yet in your sins.*

Canst thou believe that God will suffer the best men in the world to be of all men most miserable from first to last? Surely such as have hope in Christ, are men of the best lives of any in the world: But if Christ be not risen, then they that have hope in Christ are of all men most miserable. The five arguments which I have given, may convince any man (that is not obstinate) both of the possibility, and futurity of a resurrection, that is, both that it may, and shall be.

But some will say, how are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? To which objection, or question, (stated by the Apostle in those very

words, 1 Cor. 15. 35.) I answer, that it doth not appear that the houses of wicked men, (their bodies I mean) shall be any thing more beautiful, at the *resurrection* than they were before, or freed from those deformities which they carried to the grave with them, (but *as those trees fall, so they shall rise*) or if they should, what would it signifie? when neither they, nor others could see it for want of light? Did goodly houses, or Churches, look beautifully, in the midst of flames? when nothing but the wall of fire, that was round about them could be seen? but sure I am, the houses of good men (that is their bodies) shall all, and every of them be beautified at the *resurrection*, and whereas some of them were like houses that are low built, others like rooms that are shelving (or garret-wise,) others dark, like dungeons, others slight and thin, like paper-walled houses, those and all other inconveniences, shall be removed, for then *shall their vile bodies, be changed, and fashioned like unto Christ his glorious body according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself*, Phil. 3. 21.

Now the souls of men go about like snails, carrying their shels upon their backs, (which maketh their motion slow) but their houses, or bodies, after the *Resurrection*, shall be no more clogs, or impediments to their souls, than wings are to the flight of birds.

Here our earthly houses (that is our bodies) do soil, and stain the souls that inhabit them, as the bare walls of new buildings, use to do the garments of those that dwell in them, but at the *resurrection* they shall no more do that, than those rooms defile our cloaths, which are hung with the newest, and dearest tapistry. Those houses which have no filthiness in themselves (and such will our bodies

dies then be) can convey none to others.

How glad would the wicked be that these their houses of clay might never be rebuilt? how much rather could they wish they might be annihilated? For in these very houses must they dwell with consuming fire, and everlasting burnings.

Consider the bodies of good men as *the Temple of God* (for so they are called, *1 Cor. 3. 16.*) and as the members of Christ, *1 Cor. 6. 15.* *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?* consider them as sleeping in Jesus, for so the expression is *1 Thes. 4. 14.* (as if the bosome of Christ were the Urne in which those ashes were laid up) I say consider them under that threefold notion, and you will see no cause to wonder, that so much care should be taken of those demolished Temples, as to rebuild them, of those lost members, as to restore them, and of those scattered ashes, and dispersed dust, as to gather them together again.

Most houses of note (as publick Halls, &c.) and wherein persons of considerable quality were concerned, that were lately burnt down, are like to be built again, and the owners thereof do think, that in point of honour, they can do no less, and shall not the *Temples of God*, which are the bodies of his Saints, I say, shall not they be rebuilt? is it not for the honour of the great God that it should be so?

I have shewed how much more glorious the new houses of the Saints, I mean their new bodies, will be, than were their old ones, oh then how glorious a City will the new *Jerusalem* (that is, Heaven) be, which shall consist of all such stately houses, as the bodies of the Saints are designed to be? even so glorious as the firmament would be, if every Star therein were as big, and as bright, as is the Sun

it self. *Mat. 13. 43.* Then shall the righteous shine forth, as the Sun in the kingdom of our father.

I question whether at that time, when Christ was transfigured, before some of his Disciples, his body did appear so glorious as it doth in Heaven, and yet we read, *Mat. 17. 2.* That then his face did shine as the Sun, and his raiment was white as the light. The glory of the body of Christ in Heaven, may be more than that which is there described; it cannot be less, and what saith the Scripture, *1 John 3. 2.* When he shall appear, we shall be like him: and our vile bodies fashioned like his glorious body.

Who would be able to know the bodies and vi-
sages of those Saints, that he shall meet in Heaven,
or any one of them, (unless it shall be revealed to
him) being so much changed for the better as then
they will be? *Abraham* will not, of himself discern,
that that was the house in which *Isaac* dwelt, or
that the materials thereof are the same, nor *Isaac*
that his Father *Abraham* (when upon the earth,)
dwelt in that house; I mean in that very body (for
doubtless for substance, it will be the same, *Job. 19.*
27. whom mine eyes shall behold, and not another) which
will then appear as much more magnificent, than
it was in the world, as is the pallace of a Prince;
than the cottage of a poor peasant.

We know what manner of house *Lazarus* dwelt
in, when he was in the world, so patcht, so leprous,
that I had almost said, the very dogs began to pity
him, (of whom it is said that they lick his sores) yet
that despicable house of his, will at the *Resurrection*,
be metamorphosed into so stately a dwelling, as
would even dazle *Dives*, or the rich mans eyes, if
he should have leave to behold it.

What matter is it, if the souls of divers good
men dwell but meanly, and ill-favouredly in this
world?

world, that is, in handfom and deformed bodie
 with how they do sojourn, as it were in tents
 and what if they be black as the tents of Kedar?) what
 if the houses which they now live in, be scarce
 wind-tide, or water-tide, will scarce keep them
 warm, or dry? What if the keepers of the house do
 tumble, and the strong men bow themselves? What if the
 silver cord be loosened, or the golden bowl be broken, or the
 pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel be broken
 at the cistern. (which are *Solomons* expressions to set
 forth bodily infirmities) what if their present
 dwellings be ever so homely, sith they are not their
 home? these their earthly tabernacles will soon be
 destroyed, and when they come to be built again,
 they shall be as the pallaces of Princes, fit for them
 who must live, and raigh with Christ for ever. Had
 our Sovereign then been sure to possesse his throne
 as now he doth) it would but little have troubled
 him, that he was forced to hide for a time in a hol-
 low tree (since called the Royal Oak) and as lit-
 tle should the inconvenient habitation of Christians
 trouble them (I mean the weakness or uncompli-
 cence of their bodies for the present) sith these
 old houses of theirs shall quickly be pulled down,
 and the new ones which shall be provided for them,
 at the *Resurrection* of the dead will be past all ex-
 ceptions.

I see no reason, on the other hand, why ungodly
 men and women, should pride themselves in those
 lately houses, in which their Souls do now dwell
 (I mean in the amiableness, and beautifulnes of
 their bodies.) sith those houses must shortly be
 habitations for worms, where they will breed, and
 feed and boord, and dye and rot, and be buried, even
 in those fine bodies which they are now so proud
 of, and when those houses come to be built again

(I mean those bodies to be raised from the dead) then will they be in worse condition then ever, that is eternally haunted and possessed by Devils (worse than vermine) for what less can those children of disobedience expect, in whom *Satan* now ruleth?

It is a consideration which may greatly comfort goodmen, that at the *Resurrection*, they shall not only have better houses then ever they had before, but those houses shall have far better inhabitants than they formerly had, even the *Souls of just men made perfect*, whereas their former houses were inhabited by the *Souls* (though of just men) yet full of imperfections. It will then be their happiness to have *Sanam mentem in corpore Sano*, Souls and bodies prospering both alike.

What troublesome houses are our present bodies which need repairing every day by meat and drink, and every night by rest and sleep; which are in continual danger of being thrown down by one means, and by another; but those new houses, (or bodies) which believers shall enter into at the *Resurrection*, will need no meats or drinks, wherewith to repair them, for then shall they be *ισαγγελοι*, that is, as the *Angels of God*, Mat. 22. 30. shall be obnoxious to no element (whether fire or water) or to any other creature, shall be incapable of being destroyed for they shall be raised incorruptible, 1 Cor. 15. 52. and Luk. 20. 36. Neither can they dye any more.

How strange is it then that we should read of any which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and that resurrection from the dead, the state of the resurrection being so glorious as it is? well may it be said they are children of God being the children of the resurrection

resurrection, for so the better *resurrection* is called, *the resurrection*, by way of eminency; though besides the *resurrection of life*, there is also a *resurrection of condemnation*, John 5. 29.

Two extreames there are which may prejudice the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*; One is a vein of *allegorising* every thing. We read of some *who erred saying, The Resurrection is past already*, 2 Tim. 2. 18. and they must needs be such as took the *Resurrection* for some other thing than the raising of all men from the dead, *viz.* in some mystical sense. Others will allow of no figurative expressions, and such, if you tell them of a *Resurrection*, may (according to their Principles) tell you that Christ is the only *Resurrection*, because of what is said John. 11. 25. *I am the Resurrection* (meaning causally &c.)

But whilst we speak of the raising or rebuilding of our bodies, O the admirable power and wisdom of God, that is able to build with such Materials, some part whereof must be fetcht out of the bottom of the Sea, other parts out of the bowells of living Creatures, out of the entrails of Worms and Fishes (and such like) which have fed upon them.

Who but he that is omniscient, could tell where to find that broken, scattered, and dispersed stuff, wherewith the bodies of men shall be rebuilt? or if they knew where it were, who but he (*whose Arm is not to short* for any purpose) were able to come at it? Where is that Artificer that can distinguish betwixt dust and dust? the dust of one house and of another, if the dust of twenty houses were mixed together and laid in one heap? or who can build a house of meer dust? I say, who but the great God can do either of these? and he will do both.

Neither is the *condescension* of God, appearing in the

the *Resurrection* of his servants, less admirable than are the demonstrations of his power and wisdom, in that he sheweth himself mindful of his people, in the lowest condition they can be in, even when he hath brought them into the dust of death, as the phrase is, *Psal. 22. 15.*

The peculiar respects which God beareth to them that fear him, will be most conspicuous at the *Resurrection*, for then the houses of his servants shall overtop the houses of all wicked men, *the Mountain of their houses shall be established in the top of the Mountains, and shall be exalted above the Hills of others* (alluding to *Isa. 2. 2.*) *For the upright shall have dominion over the wicked in the morning, Psal. 49. 14.*

I can but think how the Souls of just men; when they have put off these earthly Tabernacles, will long to be possessed of their new houses, *Rom. 8. 23.* *We our selves groan, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body:* And well then may we long for that time, considering that he who hath called the bodies of his Saints *the Temples of the Holy Ghost*, *1 Cor. 6. 19.* will be much more graciously and visibly present in those Temples so refined, as they will be at the *Resurrection*, than in those we carry about with us, so defiled and polluted as they are at the present.

It is the least thing I can say of the *Resurrection of the just*, that when that time shall come, all their defects, and deformities of body shall then be done away for ever; and yet what would not some men give to be cured of one bodily defect? be it blindness, or deafness, or lameness, and to be restored to any limb or sense they want but for that little time they have to live? But alas how many defects and deformities are there which no Art of man can cure?

cure ? To such as labour under any of them, I would say, Have patience but a little while, get part in *the first Resurrection*, that you may have interest in the second, viz. *the Resurrection of life*, lay up a good Foundation for the time to come *that thou mayest be recompensed at the Resurrection of the just*, Luke 14. 14. Make shift for the present ; for a short season, a sorry house may serve the turn, when death and the Grave, which must swallow thee down for a while, shall deliver thee up again (as the *Whale* did *Jonah*) thy next house shall be a Pallace, that is, the body which thou shalt receive at the *Resurrection*, or which thou shalt rise with, shall be as free from defects, and deformities, as is the glorious body of Christ himself.

I cannot sufficiently admire the happiness of those persons who live under the strong and comfortable expectations of a *better Resurrection*, Heb. 11. 35. that is, of a better condition after death, than ever they had before it. Lord fill my soul, and the Souls of all thy children, with that blessed expectation, and do thou enable me and them to say, with thy holy Apostle *Paul*, and those whom he there joy-neth with himself, *We know that if our earthly house of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens,* 2 Cor. 5. 1.

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